17: Hellson & Gadd NF6 Blackfoot NF6

● 824

[For scientific identification of native flora in the text, see also Category 137.]

50: Uhlenbeck NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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825
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[For information on the gender classification of terms for various phenomena of the external world and the human organism, see Category 193, pp. 18-21.]

51: Uhlenbeck & van Gulik NF6 Blackfoot NF6

101
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[For Blackfoot terms designating phenomena concerning the external world and the human organism, and for Blackfoot terms designating tribes, bands, and other sociopolitical units, see Category 192.]

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

539 the rabbits were cooked, he cut some red willow brush and
[824] laid them on it to cool. The grease soaked into these branches, so, even to-day if you hold red willow over a fire,
[825] you will see the grease on the bark. You can see, too, that ever since, the rabbits have a burnt place on their backs, where the one that got away was singed.

Old Man sat down, and was waiting for the rabbits to cool a little, when a coyote came along, limping very badly. "Pity me, Old Man," he said, "you have lots of cooked rabbits; give me one of them."

"Go away," exclaimed Old Man. "If you are too lazy to catch your food, I will not help you."

"My leg is broken," said the coyote. "I can't catch anything, and I am starving. Just give me half a rabbit."

"I don't care if you die," replied Old Man. "I worked hard to cook all these rabbits, and I will not give any away. But I will tell you what we will do. We will run a race to that butte, way out there, and if you beat me you can have a rabbit."

"All right," said the coyote. So they started. Old Man ran very fast, and the coyote limped along behind, but close to him, until they got near to the butte. Then the coyote turned round and ran back very fast, for he was not lame at all. It took Old Man a long time to go back, and just before he got to the fire, the coyote swallowed the last rabbit, and trotted off over the prairie.

skins and was about sixteen feet in diameter. The lower 342
edge of the lodge proper was fastened, by wooden pegs, to
within an inch or two of the ground. Inside, a lining, made
of brightly painted cowskin, reached from the ground to a
height of five or six feet. An air space of the thickness of the
lodge poles — two or three inches — was thus left between
the lining and the lodge covering, and the cold air, rushing
up through it from the outside, made a draft, which aided
the ears in freeing the lodge of smoke. The door was three
or four feet high and was covered by a flap of skin, which
hung down on the outside. Thus made, with plenty of
buffalo robes for seats and bedding, and a good stock of
firewood, a lodge was very comfortable, even in the coldest
weather.

It was not uncommon to decorate the outside of the [532]
lodge with buffalo tails and brightly painted pictures of [237]
animals. Inside, the space around was partitioned off into
couches, or seats, each about six feet in length. At the foot 353
and head of every couch, a mat, made of straight, peeled wil- [352]
low twigs, fastened side by side, was suspended on a tripod at
an angle of forty-five degrees, so that between the couches
spaces were left like an inverted V, thus Λ, making con-
venient places to store articles which were not in use. The [554]
owner of the lodge always occupied the seat or couch at the
back of the lodge, directly opposite the door-way, the places
on his right being occupied by his wives and daughters;
though sometimes a Blackfoot had so many wives that they
occupied the whole lodge. The places on his left were re- [576]
served for his sons and visitors. When a visitor entered a [554]
lodge, he was assigned a seat according to his rank, — the
nearer to the host, the greater the honor.

Bows were generally made of ash wood, which grows east 411
of the mountains toward the Sand Hills. When for any 824
reason they could not obtain ash, they used the wood of
the choke-cherry tree, but this had not strength nor spring

411 enough to be of much service. I have been told also that
● [824] sometimes they used hazle wood for bows.

Arrows were made of shoots of the sarvis berry wood,
[413] which was straight, very heavy, and not brittle. They were
smoothed and straightened by a stone implement. The
[237] grooves were made by pushing the shafts through a rib or
other flat bone in which had been made a hole, circular
except for one or two projections on the inside. These
projections worked out the groove. The object of these
grooves is said to have been to allow the blood to flow
[422] freely. Each man marked his arrows by painting them, or
by some special combination of colored feathers. The
arrow heads were of two kinds, — barbed slender points for
[412] war, and barbless for hunting. Knives were originally made
of stone, as were also war clubs, mauls, and some of the
scrapers for fleshing and graining hides. Some of the flint
knives were long, others short. A stick was fitted to them,
[237] forming a wooden handle. The handles of mauls and war
clubs were usually made of green sticks fitted as closely as
possible into a groove made in the stone, the whole being
bound together by a covering of hide put on green, tightly
fitted and strongly sewed. This, as it shrunk in drying,
bound the different parts of the implement together in the
strongest possible manner. Short, heavy spears were used,
the points being of stone or bone, barbed.

372 I have heard no explanation among the Blackfeet of the
origin of fire. In ancient times, it was obtained by means of
fire sticks, as described elsewhere. The starting of the spark
[177] with these sticks is said to have been hard work. At almost
their first meeting with the whites, they obtained flints and
steels, and learned how to use them.

In ancient times, — in the days of fire sticks and even
later, within the memory of men now living, — fire used to be
[237] carried from place to place in a "fire horn." This was a
buffalo horn slung by a string over the shoulder like a pow-

der horn. The horn was lined with moist, rotten wood, and 372
the open end had a wooden stopper or plug fitted to it. On [237]
leaving camp in the morning, the man who carried the horn took from the fire a small live coal and put it in the horn, and on this coal placed a piece of punk, and then plugged up the horn with the stopper. The punk smouldered in this almost air-tight chamber, and, in the course of two or three hours, the man looked at it, and if it was nearly consumed, put another piece of punk in the horn. The first young men who reached the appointed camping ground would gather two or three large piles of wood in different places, and as soon as some one who carried a fire horn reached camp, he turned out his spark at one of these piles of wood, and a little blowing and nursing gave a blaze which started the fire. The other fires were kindled from this first one, and when the women reached camp and had put the lodges up, they went to these fires, and got coals
with which to start those in their lodges. This custom of [178]
borrowing coals persisted up to the last days of the buffalo, and indeed may even be noticed still.

The punk here mentioned is a fungus, which grows on the 372
birch tree. The Indians used to gather this in large quanti- 824
ties and dry it. It was very abundant at the Touchwood Hills (whence the name) on Beaver Creek, a tributary of the Saskatchewan from the south.

The Blackfeet made buckets, cups, basins, and dishes 415
from the lining of the buffalo's paunch. This was torn off in 281
large pieces, and was stretched over a flattened willow or [237]
cherry hoop at the bottom and top. These hoops were sometimes inside and sometimes outside the bucket or dish. In the latter case, the hoop at the bottom was often sewed to the paunch, which came down over it, double on the outside, the needle holes being pitched with gum or tallow. The hoop at the upper edge was also sewed to the paunch, and a rawhide bail passed under it, to carry it by.

251 fourth of an inch thick and very brittle. The back fat of
the buffalo was also dried, and eaten with the meat as we
eat butter with bread. Pemmican was made of the flesh of
the buffalo. The meat was dried in the usual way; and, for
this use, only lean meat, such as the hams, loin, and shoulders,
● [324] was chosen. When the time came for making the
pemmican, two large fires were built of dry quaking aspen
wood, and these were allowed to burn down to red coals.
The old women brought the dried meat to these fires, and
the sheets of meat were thrown on the coals of one of them,
allowed to heat through, turned to keep them from burning,
and then thrown on the flesh side of a dry hide, that lay on
the ground near by. After a time, the roasting of this dried
meat caused a smoke to rise from the fire in use, which gave
the meat a bitter taste, if cooked in it. They then turned
to the other fire, and used that until the first one had burned
clear again. After enough of the roasted meat had been
thrown on the hide, it was flailed out with sticks, and being
very brittle was easily broken up, and made small. It was
constantly stirred and pounded until it was all fine. Meantime,
the tallow of the buffalo had been melted in a large
[237] kettle, and the pemmican bags prepared. These were made
of bull's hide, and were in two pieces, cut oblong, and with
[415] the corners rounded off. Two such pieces sewed together
made a bag which would hold one hundred pounds. The
pounded meat and tallow — the latter just beginning to cool
— were put in a trough made of bull's hide, a wooden spade
being used to stir the mixture. After it was thoroughly mixed,
it was shovelled into one of the sacks, held open, and rammed
down and packed tight with a big stick, every effort being
made to expel all the air. When the bag was full and
packed as tight as possible, it was sewn up. It was then
put on the ground, and the women jumped on it to make it
still more tight and solid. It was then laid away in the sun
to cool and dry. It usually took the meat of two cows to

When they reach the patch, if the crop is good, every one is 249
glad. After the gathering, they all move away again after the 796
buffalo.

Sometimes a man who was lazy, and had planted no to- 249
bacco, would go secretly to the patch, and pull a number of 685
plants belonging to some one else, and hide them for his own
use. Now, in these prayers that they offer, they do not ask [796]
for mercy for thieves. A man who had thus taken what did
not belong to him would have a lizard appear to him in a [784]
dream, and then he would fall sick and die. The medicine [787]
men would know of all this, but they would not do anything.
They would just let him die.

This tobacco was given us by the one who made us. 276 [824] ●

The Blackfoot cosmology is imperfect and vague, and I 772
have been able to obtain nothing like a complete account of
it, for I have found no one who appeared to know the story
of the beginning of all things.

Some of the Blackfeet now say that originally there was a 539
great womb, in which were conceived the progenitors of all 773
animals now on earth. Among these was Old Man. As the time for their birth drew near, the animals used to quarrel as to which should be the first to be born, and one day, in a fierce struggle about this, the womb burst, and Old Man jumped first to the ground. For this reason, he named all the animals Nis-kum'-iks, Young Brothers; and they, because he was the first-born, called him Old Man.

There are several different accounts of the creation of the 773
people by Old Man. One is that he married a female dog, and that their progeny were the first people. Others, and the ones most often told, have been given in the Old Man stories already related.

There is an account of the creation which is essentially [171]
an Algonquin myth, and is told by most of the tribes of this stock from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, though the hero is variously named.

following the destruction of the buffalo to study and record aspects of the classic 127 Blackfeet culture. The following description is based upon their published works and upon the writings of Ewers who has extended and synthesized much of the 114 earlier work (these sources are included among the Recommended Readings).*

By 1850, then, the Piegan ranged within a portion of the territory, roughly 175 27,500 square miles in extent, assigned to them a few years later by the treaty of 1855 (Fig. 2)—a hunting territory bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains, 131 on the north by the U.S.-Canadian border, on the south by the Musselshell River and on the east by an undetermined line at about 109.5 longitude which included the Sweetgrass Hills and the Bearpaw Mountains (Ewers 1958:122–123; Kappler 1903:553). The topography and climate was generally similar to that of the present reservation.

Economy

For the Blackfeet of prereservation days the buffalo was the major source 825 of food, shelter, clothing, tools, and ornamentation. Ewers (1955:149–152) has given the most complete review of the many uses of the animal indicating that 262 most all fleshy parts were eaten, sometimes raw, most frequently cooked, during the times of the year that buffalo could be hunted. Meat was dried and stored, 251 sometimes mixed and pounded with fat and dried berries to make pemmican, both effective ways of preservation for use during the winter months when hunting was difficult. In addition, Ewers lists eighty-seven nonfood uses of the buffalo including 237 the manufacture of tepee covers, bedding, shields, some articles of clothing, containers, straps and thongs from the hides, cups, ladles and spoons from the horns, tools of bone, fuel from dung, ornaments from hair, hide and horn and so on down to using the tail attached to a stick for a fly brush. In the trading days, too, 439 the meat and hides of the buffalo could be used to gain guns, ammunition, utensils, knives, axes, blankets, coffee, tea, tobacco, whiskey, and clothing from the white traders. Roots, berries, elk, deer, rabbits, fish, eggs of ducks and geese and 262 occasionally the birds themselves were used as food, and their hides, horn, antlers, bone, feathers, along with grasses, willows, and so forth, supplemented these non- 237 food products of the buffalo. It seems fair to say that the buffalo was the bulwark 824 of the Blackfeet economy and, as will be shown later, much if not most of the culture—other practices, beliefs, even the values by which people were measured— 825 were expressions of a way of life built on hunting buffalo.

The horse had assumed great importance in Blackfeet life since its intro- 231

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* Grinnell studied the Blackfeet during the years between 1885 and 1907. McClintock 177 first visited the reservation in 1896 and subsequently spent many summers living and studying among the Indians until 1910. Curtis was a frequent visitor between 1898 and 1910, while Uhlenbeck and DeJong conducted linguistic and folklore research in the Heart Butte and Two Medicine regions in 1911 and 1912. Wissler, with the help of D. C. Duvall, did fieldwork during the decade from 1903 to 1913. As curator of the Museum of the Plains Indian, Ewers lived in Browning from 1941 to 1944 and returned for fieldwork again during 1947. Through his own fieldwork and extensive study of ethnological and ethnohistorical sources, he has been able to extend, synthesize and reinterpret what is known of this culture.

[ca. 1700]

mittens, caps, and moccasins to protect their extremities from 237
the freezing cold. They made shields from the thick hide of the [291]
buffalo's neck and used green rawhide for securely binding stone [291]
clubs, knives, mauls, and berry mashers to wooden handles. From [714]
soft-dressed buffalo skins they fashioned bags to hold their house- [283]
hold goods when they moved camp. They made serviceable [415]
spoons and drinking cups from buffalo horns. The paunch of this
animal made a tight water bucket. Buffalo sinew supplied thread, [283]
bow strings, and cord for binding both stone heads and feathers
to wooden arrow shafts.

Important as the buffalo was in the life of the Blackfeet in 224
dog days, they did not neglect the other natural resources of
their country. Deer, moose, elk, and the smaller mammals pro- [262]
vided a secondary food resource especially welcomed when buf-
falo were scarce. The lighter skins of deer were preferable to 237
those of the buffalo for warm-weather clothing. Porcupine quills, [291]
delicately colored with vegetable dyes, probably were folded
and sewn to their favorite garments to make them more hand- [294]
some. Wild plants, especially roots in early summer and berries 262
in fall, supplied vegetal foods which brought some variety to
their heavy meat diet. The roots and leaves of many plants were 824 ●
prepared as medicines. 278

Persistent Blackfoot traditions tell of the crude clay cooking
pots made and used by their ancestors.[11] Earth pigments served 323
for face and body paints and for decorating clothing, tipis, and 386
other skin articles. From stone they fashioned tobacco pipes and
painstakingly chipped their sharp cutting tools and weapons— 324
butchering knives, skin-scraping blades, arrow points, and lance
heads. Each man either made his weapons for war and hunting
or he employed a more skillful elderly man to make them for him.

Aged Indians told David Thompson of Blackfoot warfare in 721
dog days. In the early years of the eighteenth century their bit-
terest enemies were the Snake or Shoshoni dwelling on the plains [648]
southwest of the Piegan, who were the frontier tribe of the

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[11] John C. Ewers, "The Case for Blackfoot Pottery," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLVII, No. 2 (1945), 289–98.

237 ners for a boy's sled. Pieces of ribbone were fashioned into gam-
[525 bling dice. Wedge-shaped pieces of the porous hipbone or shoul-
[412 der blade made useful paint brushes. A buffalo skull was placed
on the altar in the tribal sun dance. Some women dehaired raw-
[796 hide rope by pulling the rope back and forth through the eye
[412 sockets of a buffalo skull.

Many buffalo cows killed in early spring contained the almost
[281 fully developed embryos of calves. Indian women cut off the
[415 heads of these unborn calves and used the entire body skin for
[372 berry, pemmican, and tobacco sacks. Finally, dried buffalo dung
provided a practical substitute for firewood when Indians were
camped on the open plains at a distance from firewood.

Most of these articles were by-products of the buffalo chase.
224 Blackfoot Indians hunted buffalo for food and hides. The great
number of animals killed provided ample supplies of the materials required to make the many other items listed above. Although buffalo were hunted throughout the year, the Indians recognized seasonal differences in the quality of the meat and the utility of the hides. Throughout most of the year the meat of bulls was tough and unpalatable compared with that of cows. So the Blackfeet preferred to kill cows for food except during
[824] the early summer months when bulls were prime. They recognized the approach of the bull-hunting season when they saw the yellow flowers of "tooth grass." During the warm summer months, when buffalo hair was short, skins were taken for tipi covers and the numerous other articles made from soft-dressed skins or rawhide. Cows were at their best in the fall. This was the period of intensive hunting to secure winter meat supplies. It was only during the cold months, from November through February, that buffalo hair was long. That was the season for killing buffalo to obtain robes for the American traders and for Indian use in making bedding and winter clothing. Calves, generally born in May, were hunted soon thereafter.

224 Although their pedestrian ancestors surrounded buffalo on the
492 open plains in the warmer months, Blackfoot horsemen rarely employed the mounted surround. They preferred the chase, a

[ca. 1850]

donned his war medicine. Usually his^ prayers were addressed 726
to the sun or the moon (who in Blackfoot belief was sun's wife),
and consisted of a simple, direct appeal for help in taking horses [782]
and reaching home safely. These long moments before going into action were tense, even terrifying ones for the inexperienced younger fellows. One of them might ask a more experienced
comrade for some of his medicine. Or a young man might make [782]
a solemn vow to give a feast for the owner of some sacred bundle
back home or to undergo the agonizing self-torture in the sun dance of his tribe if he accomplished his mission.

The attack usually was scheduled for daybreak. Then the leader and a few of his bravest and most experienced men walked noiselessly into the enemy camp. If dogs barked, they threw bits of meat to them, waited, circled the camp, and approached it from another direction. Sometimes these men rubbed [824]
cottonwood sap on their hands and bodies. Its odor tended to quiet the horses and make them more willing to follow strangers. Quickly they approached the best horses, which were picketed in front of the lodges of their sleeping enemies, cut the picket lines with their sharp knives, and led the prized animals away. If there was no noise within the camp, no indication that any of the enemy had been roused, these adept horse thieves left the horses they had taken with a boy or inexperienced member of their party outside the camp and returned for more picketed animals. Sometimes the other members of the raiding party drove off some of the range herds while their leader and his most able men were after the picketed animals.

Whether or not the raiders' movements woke their enemies, it was important that they make a quick getaway in order to get as much head start on their pursuers as possible. Sometimes, in their haste to get away, a member of the party was left behind without a horse to ride. He had to shift for himself—find a hiding place in the brush until the next evening and get home alone as best he could.

It was always dangerous for a raiding party to be too greedy. To stay too long in the enemy camp or to try to run off too many

^ [i.e., a warrior about to go into battle—Analyst]

[ca. 1850]

796 undergo torture that day. Inside the medicine lodge, on the west
785 side of the center pole and north of the weather dancers' arbor, a
shelter was built of sticks covered with willow leaves. I went in
there before noon of the day of the torture. I was laid on my back
with my head pointed north. I was barefoot and wore only a breech-
796 clout of red trade cloth. There was a little bowl of white paint and
785 another of black paint near by. The three old men painted four black
dots, one below the other, under each of my eyes. This was called
302 "tear paint." If I cried, the tears would run down there. Then they
painted a double row of six black dots on each arm. They painted the
symbol of the moon, points up, on my forehead in black. On the out-
side of each leg they painted a double row of six black dots. The rest
796 of my body and my face were painted white. They took some broad-
785 leafed sagebrush from the ground inside the sweat lodge and bound
it together, placing a wreath of it around my head and bands of it
● [824] around each wrist and ankle.

I was taken from the shelter and laid upon a blanket on the ground at the north side of the center pole. Other men were told to keep back away from me. Then an old man named Low Horn was brought forward. He counted four war honors. While Little Bear and Green Grass Bull held my arms, Red Bead took a sharp, iron arrowhead in his hand and asked me, "How do you want me to cut them, thick or thin?" I said, "Thin." (I learned later that the man doing the cutting always did just the opposite of the young man's request. So when I told him "thin," Red Bead knew to make his incisions deep.) Red Bead recited four war honors. Then he pierced my breasts with the sharp arrowhead and inserted a sarvis berry stick through each breast. These sticks were not sharp but flattened at the ends. Blood flowed down my chest and legs over the white paint. Then Red Bead pressed the sticks against my body. They turned me around to face the sun and pierced my back. To the skewers through my back they hung a miniature shield with feathers on it.

Rawhide ropes were brought out from the center pole and tied to the skewers in my breast—right side first, then left side. Red Bead grabbed the ropes and jerked them hard twice. Then he told me, "Now, go to the center pole and pray for your vow to come true." I walked up there. I knew I was supposed to pretend to cry. But oh! I really cried. It hurt so much. Coming back from the center pole, I

on thinly covered side hills rather than on the luxuriant stands of the 231
valleys. They were concerned, however, that there be sufficient grass
in the neighborhood of campsites to support their herds. They also
recognized that horses preferred some grasses to others.

Present-day agricultural extension agents regard the Blackfoot 231
Reservation in Montana as one of the finest livestock ranges in the
United States. However, the old-time Blackfoot preferred the area 311
eastward of the present reservation for fall and winter pasturage.
The vicinity of the Sweetgrass Hills, described by Stanley (1855, p.
447) as the favorite fall pasturage for buffalo a century ago, was a
section in which the grass remained green until late fall and in which
clear lakes were plentiful. In the late decades of buffalo days a
favorite wintering locality of the Piegan was the valley of the Marias
River from the present Shelby–Great Falls Railway crossing eastward.

Elderly informants named several range plants common along the 231
Marias which their people regarded as excellent fall and winter forage
of horses. These are: "jointed water grass" (*Equisetum arvense*), 824
the common horsetail; "weasel grass" (*Artemisia cana*), the silver
sagebrush; "blue stick grass" (probably *Chrysothamnus nauseosus*),
the rabbit brush; "real grass" (buffalograss, *Buchloe dactyloides*);
and "jingle grass" (unidentified).[14]

On the Marias River also was found a white clay streaked with 231
yellow that "tasted like nuts." Horses were fond of it. Some people 823
ate it also. In fall and winter the earth around alkali sinks was peeled
off, broken up, and fed to animals. Indians believed it had the same [262]
beneficial effect as salt on livestock.

Throughout the greater part of the year Blackfoot horses kept in 231
condition on no other feed than the wild range grasses. Captain Marcy (1859, pp. 111–112) observed that "for prairie service, horses which have been raised exclusively upon grass, and never have been fed on grain, or 'range horses,' as they are called in the West, are decidedly the best, and will perform more hard labor than those that have been stabled and groomed." The Blackfoot, in buffalo days, made no efforts to put up wild hay for winter feed. Their efforts to provide grass for their horses were limited largely to the expedient of selecting camping places where the best grasses could be found.

When the grass in the vicinity of a winter camp was consumed, it 231
was necessary to move camp. Only the severest weather conditions 484
which made the movements of horses impossible would prevent this
change of location. Some bands, whose members owned large horse

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[14] I am indebted to Claude Schaeffer, curator, Museum of the Plains Indian, for the collection of specimens of some of these plants, and to Ellsworth P. Killip, formerly of the Department of Botany, U. S. National Museum, for the identification of these specimens. [126] [128]

stable-bred, grain-fed horses could not endure the rigors of Alberta winters as well as could western-bred, range horses (ibid., pp. 132–133).[17] 231

SUPPLEMENTAL WINTER HORSE FOOD

Blackfoot belief that "a horse will starve to death if it doesn't get food for four days" sharpened their watch over their horses in periods of intense cold and heavy snows. If the snow was too deep to permit rustling, the people tried to clear away an area from which they could collect grass for the horses. However, the most common 231 supplemental feed was the inner bark of the round-leafed cottonwood. This tree was common in the valley of the Marias as well as 824 in other river valleys in the Blackfoot Country at some distance east of the Rockies. Some owners made a practice of feeding this bark to their best mounts (buffalo runners and race horses) in winter. Others employed cottonwood bark as an emergency ration to be relied on only when grass was insufficient or unobtainable by rustling horses. Some horses "chewed like beavers" on cottonwood branches without waiting for their owners to cut them. Generally women cut cottonwood trees and limbs into sections 2 or 3 feet long, or peeled off irregular strips of the bark and gave them to the horses. For use as horse feed quantities of this bark were carried by pack horses accompanying small winter hunting parties. Older informants spoke of cottonwood bark as "better than oats." Children, too, liked to chew the [261] bark for its sweet taste. Logs of cottonwood, from which the bark had been stripped during the winter, made a soft, easily chopped fire- [372] wood for camp use the following fall.

Short Face claimed the Piegan discovered the value of cottonwood bark as winter horse feed by accident. He cited a tradition to the effect that "one winter a bridled horse was lost. Its owner, believing it had found nothing to eat, feared the horse was dead. He found it several days later with its reins caught around the trunk of a cottonwood. The horse had thrived by eating the bark of that tree. After the owner observed this he decided to feed cottonwood bark to all his horses. Soon all the Piegan who owned horses began to cut cottonwood and offer the bark to their horses." We know, however, that the practice of feeding this bark to horses in winter was both old and widespread among the Plains Indians.[18]

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[17] The earliest reference to Plains Indian horses rustling for their winter food by pawing away the snow occurs in Henry's observations among the Assiniboin in February, 1776 (Henry, 1809, p. 289). [171]

[18] Hendry (1907, p. 345) noted that the horses of his Cree and Assiniboin companions were "feeding on willow tops" in the winter of 1755. Lewis and Clark observed that the Mandan fed cottonwood bark to their horses in the winter of 1804–5 (Coues, 1893, vol. 1, pp. 232–233). This practice was common among the Arikara (Bradbury, 1817, p. 165) and Pawnee (Dunbar, 1880, p. 332). Capt. W. P. Clark wrote of the winter feeding of cottonwood bark to horses as a common practice among the tribes of the northern Plains (Clark, 1885, p. 307). In 1852, Capt. Marcy observed that the old winter camp sites of the Kiowa and Comanche on the Red River and its tributaries were thickly strewn with cottonwoods the bark of which had been fed to their horses (Marcy, 1937, pp. 60–61, 141–142, 169). [171]

231 824 The St. Louis trader, William H. Ashley, in 1826, praised cottonwood bark as a winter horse feed. "When the round leaf or sweet bark cottonwood can be had abundantly, horses may be wintered with but little inconvenience. They are fond of this bark, and, judging by the effect produced from feeding it to my horses last winter, I suppose it almost, if not quite as nutritious as timothy hay (Dale, 1918, pp. 138-139).

[171] The practice of the horticultural tribes of feeding maize to their horses, first observed among the Mandan by David Thompson (1916, p. 230) in the winter of 1797-98, was unknown to the nomadic Blackfoot who had no access to maize.

NIGHT CARE

231 The Blackfoot were aware that the horticultural tribes farther down the Missouri provided stables for their horses on cold nights by taking them into compartments inside their earth-lodge dwellings.[19] Nevertheless, the Blackfoot made no effort to build covered structures to house their horses in cold weather. On very cold nights, however, Blackfoot owners drove their horses in among the trees and thickets of the river bottoms to take advantage of these natural growths as protection from wind and cold. The same precaution was taken when blizzards swept down on the camps in daytime. Often, however, the lead mare of a herd led the other animals to shelter in the timber without assistance from the owner. If the weather remained very cold, owners kept their horses in sheltered river bottoms day and night.

231 417 More as a protection against enemy raiders than against the elements the Blackfoot built night corrals within the wooded areas of the valley floor. A man who owned a large herd constructed his own corral. Owners of few horses worked together to build a corral for their animals. These generally were jerry-built, temporary fences of horizontal poles lashed with rawhide ropes to standing trees and up-ended horse travois.

WINTER LOSSES OF HORSES

231 Under date of February 16, 1773, while on the Saskatchewan Plains, Mathew Cocking (1908, p. 114) wrote of the death of several horses "which they say is the case at this time of the year." In February, 1832, John Work noted the death from cold of several horses belonging to his hunting party in the Blackfoot Country of present Montana (Work, 1923, pp. 131-132). These early references illustrate the ever-

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[171] [19] David Thompson (1916, p. 230) observed this custom among the Mandan in winter of 1797-98. It was also a practice of the Hidatsa and Arikara.

TREATMENT OF SADDLE SORES

Saddle sores were a seasonal problem to the wealthy horse owner. 231
In the spring of the year his saddle and pack horses, that had been
rested during the winter months, sometimes got saddle sores from ill- 492
fitting, improperly padded saddles used on them. Rich men could rest their afflicted mounts until they recovered. Poor men could not spare their riding horses and of necessity overloaded their pack animals. Consequently they were plagued with sore-backed horses the year round. If a wealthy man saw a likely looking but sore-backed horse belonging to a poor fellow, he might trade one of his sound horses for it.

The Blackfoot had several common remedies for saddle sores. 232
"Snake weed" (*Yucca* sp.), if available, was boiled and applied to the 278
sore with grass or a rag. "Dry root" (*Heuchera* sp., alumroot) mixed
with buffalo fat and boiled in water, also was applied. Another [824]
remedy made use of a mixture of boiled tobacco, a bitter grass, animal fat, and commercial salt, which was rubbed on the sore and "in a month's time the sore would be healed and hair standing on it." A Blood informant said his family preferred to prick the swelling with a new arrowhead until the blood ran, then apply herb medicine.[22]

TREATMENT OF SORE FEET

To repair a worn foot that caused a horse to limp with pain, the 232
Blackfoot owner made a rawhide protective shoe from a piece of thick hide from a freshly killed buffalo bull. He broke up horse manure and placed it in the shoe before he slipped it over the horse's foot. The shoe extended to the pastern and was held in place by a rawhide drawstring around the top. Periodically the shoe was re-

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[22] Several observers testified to the commonness of saddle sores among Indian-owned [171]
horses of the Plains in the first decade of the 19th century. All of them attributed this to the poorly fitting saddles used by the Indians. Henry (Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 1, p. 47) commented upon this situation among the Cree; Tabeau (1939, pp. 88–90) among the Arikara, some of whom "more through interest than pity, cover the sores with a piece of leather or with a buffalo paunch sprinkled with ashes" to prevent magpies from picking at the raw flesh; and Lewis and Clark regarding the Lemhi Shoshoni and Walla Walla horses their expedition obtained from the Indians (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, pp. 574–575; vol. 3, p. 979). The chronicler of the Long expedition wrote of the Omaha (1819), "the backs of their horses are very often sore and ulcerated from the friction of the rude saddle . . . resting on rude saddle cloths without padding" (James, 1823, vol. 1, p. 292). Larocque (1910, p. 64) observed the care Crow owners gave their horses, stating "as soon as a horse has a sore back he is not used until he is healed." Such treatment, of course, was possible only among a people who were relatively rich in horses. Undoubtedly the great majority of Plains Indians owned too few horses to afford to rest their sore-backed animals for extended periods.

Gilmore (1919, p. 133) described Pawnee use of plant medicines in treating saddle sores. The Thompson Indians of British Columbia first washed the sore with human urine, then applied plant medicines (Teit, 1930, pp. 513–514).

was raised and the medicine poured into its mouth. A great many 232
concoctions were tried by different individuals in this treatment. 278
Boiled "snake weed" (*Yucca* sp.), "big turnip" (*Leptotaenia multifida*, carrotleaf), "smell foot" (*Valeriana* sp.), and bitterroot (*Lewisia* [824] ●
rediviva) were employed separately or in combination with still other boiled plant medicines to treat these disorders.[A] There appears to have been much experimentation by horse owners in the concoction of foul-smelling liquids. Lazy Boy claimed none of the old-time remedies was as effective as the coal oil the Piegan used to treat colic after they settled down on the reservation.[illegible]

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHILLS

A sweaty horse that had been hard-ridden in winter was lead around 232
for a time, then covered with a blanket made from an old lodge cover; or it was permitted to roll in snow to dry the perspiration quickly. A good horse that had been ridden hard in warmer weather was led to a lake or stream and water splashed over it. It was then allowed to run and roll in the grass.[illegible]

A GENERAL TONIC

Short Face said that a root having a strong odor that grows near [824]
the mountains, called "strong root" by the Indians (possibly baneberry), was smashed and fed to horses at any time of year to keep them healthy.

TREATMENT OF BROKEN BONES

A good horse with a broken leg was not shot. If the horse had been a buffalo runner, it would be no longer useful for that purpose, but it could serve as a pack animal. A wealthy owner of a prized buffalo runner which suffered a broken leg, might keep that horse as a pet. If a mare broke a leg it was kept for breeding purposes. Some owners tried to treat broken legs themselves. The leg was lanced so that the blood would flow. A splint was made of rawhide-wrapped sticks. After a long time the bones healed. But there would always be a lump where the break occurred, and the horse would always limp.

Other owners called in a horse medicine man or a specialist in the treatment of broken bones. Bear-Goes-East, a Piegan of the Blood
band, was remembered as a well-known specialist. He was credited [152]
with the power to heal broken bones of animals or humans, by rubbing them with mud. The horse owner paid him well, sometimes another

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[illegible] The Dakota, Omaha, Ponca, and Pawnee used the narrow-leaved comb flower (*Echinacea angustifolia*) in their treatment of distemper (Gilmore, 1919, p. 131). [171]

[illegible] The Plains Cree employed these same methods for cooling off overheated horses (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 196). Information from other tribes is lacking. [171]

[A] [i.e., colic and distemper in horses--Analyst]

White-Horses, so named because all the horses in his herd were whites or grays, traded any dark-colored horses he obtained for white ones. 232 Nevertheless, his horses were said to have been of rather poor quality. [551] They were small, tender-hoofed animals. When the Government furnished large stallions to Piegan owners, Many-White-Horses refused to accept them. He feared the stallions would injure his small mares. So he continued to raise large numbers of little horses. They had more prestige than practical value.

Joseph Sherburne recalled that when he traveled the Blackfeet Reservation (in the first decade of the 20th century) making collections for his father's store, some Indian owners of large herds still specialized in horses of a particular color or conformation. He learned to recognize the peculiarities of the horses of different owners so that he could tell from a distance the ownership of many range horses by their appearance. There were 10 or 12 owners on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana at that time whose horses were readily distinguishable by their physical appearance. Mr. Sherburne said the uniformity of these herds was maintained both by selection of studs and by swapping of horses which failed to exhibit the desired characteristics.

MAGICAL BREEDING FORMULAS

Some Blackfoot horsemen placed faith in magical formulas for 232 insuring the birth of colts exhibiting desired qualities. If a man 789 wanted a pinto colt he killed a magpie and tied its black and white feathered body around the neck of his mare with a buckskin string in [825] the fall of the year, saying, "Now, I want you to have a pinto colt next spring." The magpie was worn on the mare's neck until it fell off. One informant said, "When spring came that mare would surely have a pinto colt, and thereafter all her colts would be pintos."

No other color of horse was as popular with the old-time Blackfoot as was that of the pinto. Many men were proud to be seen riding a two-colored horse.[illegible] 231

In order to get "a big colt," the Piegan Stingy is said to have made 232 a practice of roasting a "big turnip" (*Leptotaenia multifida*, carrot-leaf), slicing it with a knife, punching holes through the slices, string- 789 ing them on a buckskin cord, and tying the cord around a mare's neck. [824] The odor of the big turnip kept the mare in fine condition all winter. In spring she would bear a "big colt." Stingy is said to have employed

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[illegible] This is in contrast to the Kiowa tendency to consider pintos "women's horses" (communication from Alice Marriott). The Nez Percé (Ross, 1855, vol. 1, p. 307) preferred [171] white and speckled (Appaloosa) horses, which they valued at two or three times the worth of other horses. Kroeber (1907, p. 424) reported Arapaho use of colored bean medicines to cause mares to produce colts of desired colors. Spotted beans produced pintos, red beans roans or bays, and white beans white or buckskin colts. My Kiowa informants had no knowledge of the use of magical breeding formulas by members of their tribe.

THE HORSE IN CAMP MOVEMENTS

Many factors other than the possession of horses conditioned Black- 182
foot nomadism in historic times. These factors were geographic,
climatic, and bionomic as well as cultural. Before considering in 361
detail the functions of horses in camp movements let us survey briefly
the influence of these other factors on the Blackfoot yearly round.

THE BLACKFOOT COUNTRY

At its largest extent, prior to the first Blackfoot treaty with the 131
United States Government in 1855, the territory of the three Blackfoot tribes extended from the North Saskatchewan River in Canada southward to the present Yellowstone National Park. The Rocky Mountains formed its western boundary. The mouth of Milk River, some 300 miles eastward, marked its easternmost limit. (See map, fig. 24.)

Within this area lie the headwaters of both the Missouri and the
Saskatchewan Rivers, comprising numerous swift-flowing streams. 133
From the base of the Rockies the land slopes toward the east, dropping
from an elevation of 4,366 feet at present Browning, near the moun-
tains, to about 2,150 feet at the mouth of Milk River. Isolated up- 133
lifts east of the Rockies (the Sweetgrass Hills, Cypress Hills, Bear-
paw Mountains, Little Rocky Mountains, Little Belt Mountains, and 137
Big Belt Mountains) served as landmarks to the Indians and furnished timber, found elsewhere only in the stream valleys and on the slopes of the Rockies. Near the mountains the surface is more broken than Plains-like, yet there, as farther east, rich grasses afford excellent grazing for buffalo and horses.

Wild life abounded in this region. Great herds of buffalo blackened 136
the Plains. Antelope, deer, elk, bighorn, bear (both black and grizzly),
beaver, otter, mink, muskrat, wolves, foxes, badgers, weasels, and rab-
bits offered a variety of animal foods and materials for use in Indian
handicrafts. Recently Schaeffer (1950, pp. 37–46) listed some 80 [825]
bird species (in some cases families) recognized by the Blackfoot as
residents of their territory, including several species of game birds.
Although fish were abundant in the streams and lakes, they were [262]
rarely eaten by the Blackfoot. Edible plant foods of primary im-
portance to the Indians were the spring roots of the prairie turnip, 137
bitterroot and camass, and the fall berries of the chokecherry, buf- 824

102
131
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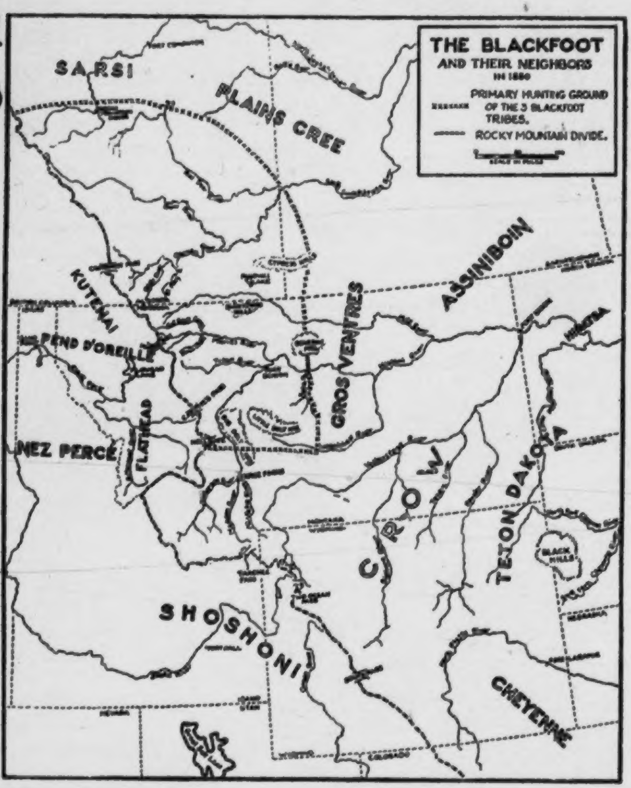
THE BLACKFOOT
AND THEIR NEIGHBORS
IN 1850
PRIMARY HUNTING GROUND OF THE 3 BLACKFOOT TRIBES.
ROCKY MOUNTAIN DIVIDE.
SARSI
PLAINS CREE
ASSINIBOIN
KUTENAI
PEND D'OREILLE
GROS VENTRES
FLATHEAD
NEZ PERCÉ
CROW
TETON DAKOTA
BLACK HILLS
SHOSHONI
CHEYENNE

Figure 24.—Map showing the Blackfoot and their neighbors in 1850.

137 faloberry (bullberry), and sarvisberry. Of these plants only bitterroot and camass (found near the mountains) were not characteristic of a much wider area of the northern Plains. 824

241 While these rich natural resources favored a hunting and collecting economy, climatic factors discouraged agricultural pursuits. Throughout most of the Blackfoot country the growing season was too short and too dry to make corn cultivation practical under aboriginal conditions. 132 Summers in the area are short with cool nights. Winters are long, cold, and frequently severe, during which rapid changes in temperature of as much as 50 degrees, strong winds, heavy

BUFFALO HUNTING SEASONS

224 Although buffalo were considered fair game by the Blackfoot
throughout the year, these Indians recognized seasonal differences in
the quality of meat and the utility of hides. Throughout most of the
year the meat of bulls was tough and unpalatable compared with that
of cows. For that reason the Indians showed a marked preference for
[824] killing cows save in the early summer when bulls were prime. They
recognized the approach of the bull hunting season when they saw
the yellow flowers of so-called "tooth grass" (probably *Thermopsis
montana*, the mountain-goldenpea). In the warm summer months,
when buffalo hair was short, skins were taken for lodge covers and
the numerous other articles made from soft-dressed skins or rawhide.
[824] Cows were at their best in fall, when "spear grass" (probably *Stipa
comata*, needle-and-thread) was spread out. This was the period of
intensive hunting to secure winter meat supplies, ending in the impounding of buffalo at sites near winter camps shortly before the approach of heavy winter (i. e., in November and December). It was only during the cold months, November through February, that buffalo hair was long. That was the season for killing buffalo to obtain robes for the fur trade and for Indian use in making cold weather garments and bedding. Calves, generally born in May, were hunted shortly thereafter.

Attention was partially diverted from hunting for two short periods
222 in spring and fall. In spring and early summer roots were dug; in
fall berries were collected. These seasons coincided with the ones
171 during which the horticultural tribes of the Plains also were concerned primarily with plant foods. During the winter months the horticultural Oto, Omaha, Pawnee, Kansa, Osage, and Sauk and Fox of the 19th century were absent from their permanent villages, hunting buffalo as did the nomadic tribes. In spring they returned to their semipermanent villages to plant their crops. In summer they again resorted to the chase, returning to their villages in fall to harvest their crops and again set out on the long winter hunt. These tribes' practice of agriculture and seasonal occupation of semipermanent villages distinguished them from the nomadic tribes of the Plains. Nevertheless, throughout the greater part of the year they lived in portable dwellings as nomadic buffalo hunters like their nonhorticultural neighbors.[1]

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[1] The following sources describe the seasonal movements of these tribes: Oto (Dodge, 1836, p. 5; Whitman, 1937, p. 7); Omaha (James, 1823, vol. 1, pp. 201–202; Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 270–271); Pawnee (James, 1823, vol. 1, pp. 445–446; Dunbar, 1880, pp. 276–277); Kansa (Wedel, 1946, p. 18), Osage (Morse, 1822, p. 205; Cooke, 1887, pp. 121–122); Sauk and Fox (Morse, 1822, pp. 126–127; Forsyth in Blair, 1912, vol. 2, pp.

took the picketed animals. It was a common practice for men who 726
went after the picketed horses to rub cottonwood sap on their bodies
and hands. The cottonwood odor would tend to quiet the horses and 726
make them willing to follow the strangers who led them away. 824

THE HOMEWARD JOURNEY

Whether or not the enemy became aware of the actions of the raid- 727
ing party, a quick getaway was important in order to get as much head start on their pursuers as possible. It was not unusual for a successful Blackfoot raiding party to take as many as 40 to 60 horses on a single raid. However, the great majority of my informants who had participated in horse raids denied that any Blackfoot party returned home with as many as 100 animals. They acknowledged that over 100 horses had been run off on raids known to them, but stated that the difficulty of driving that number of animals homeward at a fast pace, over uneven country, through timber and across streams for hundreds of miles resulted in the loss through straying or abandonment of some of the animals. It was unsafe to be too greedy. The enemy might overtake the captors of many horses, whose homeward progress was slowed by the necessity for driving an unwieldy herd in front of them.[58]

On the first portion of the homeward journey the raiders generally 727
rode without breechcloths, to prevent blistering of their skin from
the steady friction of their horses' backs in riding over rough, un- 291
even ground at a fast clip. Yet sometimes men became so sore and blistered during this part of the journey they had to dismount and walk. This not only slowed their progress but increased the danger of being overtaken by the enemy.

The return journey was made at a much faster pace than the out- 727
ward one. Rides-at-the-Door said that 4 days and nights after he took horses from the Crow south of the Yellowstone he was home (i. e., in the vicinity of the present Blackfeet Reservation, Montana). For the first 2 or 3 days and nights raiders rode steadily, switching from one mount to another as their horses tired. If a horse played out so that it could not keep up with the rest, it was usually turned loose. If it was a very good horse, the raiders might shoot it, to prevent the enemy from retaking it. Usually a party returning from the Crow reached the vicinity of present Belt, Mont., 200 miles north of the Yellowstone River, on the second night or third day. There they

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[58] The literature mentions raids by southern Plains tribes resulting in the theft of far greater numbers of horses. Gregg (1941, pp. 337–338) told of about 500 Comanche, who, according to Mexican papers of 1841, "were then driving off about 28,000 head of stock—horses, mules and cattle." This may have referred to a series of carefully organized raids in which the number of Indian participants far exceeded the numbers commonly active in individual raids by the Blackfoot and neighboring Upper Missouri tribes. 171

They were tempted to sing them for pleasure at times when they were 756
forbidden to do so. They believed that if one who had not the horse 784
medicine power should sing a horse dance song while on horseback 533
his horse would fall.[91]

IDENTIFICATION OF HORSE MEDICINES

Identification of the substances employed by the Blackfoot as horse 778
medicines poses a difficult problem. It is certain that some of the
medicines formerly employed by noted horse medicine men were not
known to the Piegan or Blood Indians of the early 1940's. Wallace
Night Gun acknowledged that he knew neither the substances nor
the specific uses of some of the medicines in the bundle he inherited
from Wolf Calf. In deference to his desire to keep those medicines [123]
secret which he did employ, I did not question him as to their identity.
Nevertheless, his voluntary recital of the origin and use of Wolf
Calf's horse medicines (related above) makes general mention of
botanical medicines, primarily roots.

Dr. V. E. Rudd, division of botany, United States National Museum, [128]
compared the fragments in the seven skin pouches in Wallace
Night Gun's horse medicine bundle (pl. 15, *B*)[A] with herbarium specimens.
She found that the large, single pouch contained ground fir 778
needles, probably *Abies lasiocarpa*. McClintock (1910, p. 524) reported
Blackfoot use of sweet pine in poultices for fevers and colds 824
in the chest in the treatment of humans. One of the small pouches [157]
on the buckskin cord contained rootstocks of baneberry (*Actaea
eburnia*). McClintock (1910, p. 526) stated that the root of this plant [157]
was boiled as a Blackfoot medicine for coughs and colds. Each of
the other five pouches contained bracts of flower heads of sagebrush
(*Artemisia* sp.). However, each of these pouches was marked with
a different-colored bead. It is possible that some of the finely powdered
material in these pouches comprised bits of other plants used
in conjunction with the sagebrush. McClintock (1910, p. 526) listed [157]
Artemisia frigida tops as a Blackfoot remedy for heartburn and
mountain fever.

A century and a half ago David Thompson (1916, p. 365) observed 778
that the Indians of the Plains collected "scented grasses, and the gums 824
that exude from the shrubs that bear berries and a part of these is
for giving to their horses to make them long winded in the chase." 232
Presumably he had reference to botanical medicines administered by
laymen rather than by horse medicine men. Short Face, who was not
a member of the horse medicine cult, believed some of the secret medicines
used by horse medicine men were the same ones administered to

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[91] Wissler (1912 a, pp. 108, 111) cited the taboos against breaking a shinbone in the lodge and singing of horse medicine songs out of context.

A [See category 778, p. 358-N--Analyst]

278 horses by laymen. One of these was the root of *Townsendia excapa*,
824 which laymen boiled and poured into the mouths or noses of tired
horses to revive them. He believed a root similar to baneberry, and
232 known to the Blackfoot as "strong root," which laymen smashed and
fed to horses at any time of year to make them hardy, was another horse medicine ingredient. He claimed (and as we have seen above, correctly) that the root of the baneberry, frequently found in medicine pipe bundles, was one of the secret horse medicines.

Other informants who did not possess horse medicine power, but who had carefully observed the grazing habits of horses, made conjectures as to the identification of some horse medicines. Three Calf understood that the roots of a plant that grew around alkali lakes and of which horses were very fond (possibly the mat muhly, *Muhlenbergia squarrosa*) (U. S. Forest Service, 1937) was a horse medicine ingredient. Weasel Tail thought a weed that grew on the Plains
825 which horses often pawed up while grazing was ground to a powder
[232] and mixed with the ground heart and feet of a beaver to form a horse
[278] medicine. Another informant knew of a medicine used by the Kutenai
for attracting wild horses, which he believed was employed by Black-
[224] foot horse medicine men for the same purpose. It was prepared from the lachrymal glands of the elk, which have a strong odor, especially if the animal is taken in rutting season.

278 These are the only suggestions of possible use of animal materials in Blackfoot horse medicines. Certainly the bulk of the evidence
278 points to the employment of plant materials in these medicines. When
I discussed horse medicine with E. C. Moran of Stanford, Mont., a
824 collector of Montana drug plants for commercial uses, he suggested
232 that the locality furnished two plants, known for their drug properties, *Clematis* and *Equisetum*, which would be likely ingredients in
[171] Blackfoot horse medicines. *Clematis* has been reported as a horse medicine among both the Nez Percé and Teton Dakota, but I have no evidence of its use as such by the Blackfoot.

COMPARATIVE DATA ON HORSE-MEDICINE IDENTIFICATION

171 Table 8 summarizes information on plant medicines known to have been used as horse stimulants by other horse-using tribes of the West. I am indebted to Edith V. A. Murphy, botanist, employed by the United States Indian Bureau, for field data on Arapaho, Nez Percé, and Ute usages. Eugene Barrett, forester, Rosebud Reservation, kindly supplied the Teton Dakota data. It is noteworthy that *Thalictrum* sp., which grows in the Blackfoot habitat, was employed as a horse stimulant by more than one other tribe. *Paeonia brownii*, though not reported from the Blackfoot country, was available in Wyoming and Idaho, at no great distance from the Blackfoot range.

575 their husbands; (3) each prospective buyer has a partner (formerly these
554 were bachelors, often not more than boys, whose families were willing and
[754] able to "see them through"); (4) members of the Horn are the most feared
[837] group among the Blood (those who buy the "painted root"[162] can sorcerise,
but even the lesser members, it is believed, have power "so great that to
[577] wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed for realization"[163]); (5) adultery,
a great tension point in the culture, is sanctioned in the Horns (individual sorcery power can only be acquired after the seller has had ceremonial intercourse with the buyer's wife); (6) jealousy is proscribed (self-control for the Blood is difficult at best, but its achievement by members of the Horn brings great social approval); (7) the Horns are now the oldest ranking society. Those who have been through it can go no further, but many can and do rejoin it.

Of the 130 who have been members at some time,

61 have bought in once
33 have bought in twice
22 have bought in three times
11 have bought in four times
1 has bought in six times
2 have bought in eight times.

575 Despite Catholic injunctions against joining the Horns (because of the
424 ceremonially sanctioned adultery), and despite the lack of interest on the
[798] part of those without horses, the demand for Horn bundles seems to be
greater than the supply. While others find no bidders or are falling in value
[837] (the Long Time Pipe which sold for a hundred and for fifty horses at an
[435] earlier time, sold for twenty in 1939), the leader's lance of the Horn Society
that same year brought fourteen horses and much goods, the approximate cost.[164] Wissler quoting a Piegan's statement made shortly after 1910 writes:

> 575 Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his
> 424 marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid
> a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a
> 432 cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and purchased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he

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● [824] [162] *Ibid.*, p. 413. Wissler calls this prairie-turnip.

[163] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[164] Harry D. Biele notes that twenty-two horses were promised but that considerably fewer were delivered.

B But
G rivers were important natural resources. From them the Indians
133 obtained water for themselves and their dogs and horses. Their
231 tree-bordered banks furnished timber for firewood and for fashion-
823 ing weapons and household utensils and cottonwood bark for winter
[137]
[824] horse feed. The river valleys also offered shelter for their winter
camps and winter pasture for their horses. The number of rivers and streams in the Missouri-Saskatchewan Region was sufficiently great and their distribution was such that nomadic bands of Indians could travel widely throughout the area with rarely any need for a dry camp.

B Rivers were extremely important as points of reference to
G
648 early white observers in locating the Indian tribes of the region.
They also were commonly designated as boundary markers in the treaties of the United States with these tribes and in the Executive Orders defining tribal reservations. Especially useful in defining the locations of tribes and negotiating tribal boundaries in the United States was the Missouri River and its larger tributaries - the Milk, Marias (and its western branches Birch Creek and Cut Bank Creek), Teton and Sun rivers on the north, and the Musselshell on the south.
B Equally important to these Indian tribes were the North and South
G
133 Saskatchewan and the latters' affluents the Red Deer, Bow, Oldman and Belly rivers.

B After the buffalo were exterminated and their nomadic days
G were ended these Indians settled down along river valleys and tried
361 to farm until they began to receive cattle following the 1888
178 Agreements.

[p.32]

000 following the first treaty. In fact the oil resources of the region
B G were not recognized by the whites at the time of the Agreement
315 negotiated in 1895. A great variety of wild plants of this region
B G were employed by these Indians in concocting medicines. The most
824 important edible plants exploited by the Indians were the spring
B roots of the prairie turnip and the fall berries of the chokecherry,
G buffaloberry (bullberry), and servisberry. They also made use of the
222 137 roots of bitterroot and camas, found near the mountains, but not
B characteristic of the area as a whole. All of these plant foods were
G of secondary importance to the Indians' diet. Undoubtedly, the most
137 824 important flora of the region throughout the period of its known history
[262] has been the short grass which covered the plains and valleys, offering
abundant feed for herbivorous wild animals and for domesticated horses,
cattle and sheep.

B Faunal wild life abounded in this region. Among the animals
G of economic value to the Indian were antelope, badger, bear (both black
136 and grizzly), beaver, bighorn, buffalo, deer, elk, foxes, mink, mountain
sheep, muskrat, otter, rabbit, weasel and wolves. Recently Schaeffer
(1950, pp. 37-46) listed some 80 bird species (in some cases families)
recognized by the Blackfoot as residents of their territory, including
B several species of game birds. Although fish were abundant in the
226 streams and lakes, they were rarely eaten by the Blackfeet tribes.

262 000 In spite of this faunal richness of the Missouri-Saskatchewan

Part 1

CEREMONIAL AND RELIGIOUS USES OF PLANTS

Overview

● 824 237 The role of plants in the religious and ceremonial life of the Blackfoot was* no less important than that of animals: both were essential for a correct re-enactment of the sacred event. The function of animal artifacts appears to have been documentation in general; the function of certain plant species was preparatory in nature.

781 778 824 By "preparatory" is meant the ritualistic use of plants to help place a person (or a group, such as a tribal society) in a condition to receive power from the sacred realm. The objects contained in the bundles and the charms of personal use attested to the original sacred event by which such power was conferred, and they were the symbolic means through which the [302] [554] revelation was demonstrated. The real power of the ceremony, commonly but mistakenly thought to reside in the songs, really lay in the face-painting, and the owner of the design reserved the right of initial benefit and source. He was the human proprietor of the sacred gift.

783 824 The preparatory role of the plants was essentially that of purification. Blackfoot mythology and ceremonial procedure show that the prerequisite of favors from the supernatural realm was the symbolic shedding of daily life. This cleansing—so suggestive of the initial stages of a rite of passage—usually was brought about in either or both of two ways: the subject could [782] pass through an ordeal in a small enclosure, the sweat lodge. It is important to note that incensing was prescribed primarily for the handling

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[128] *We use the past tense with few exceptions, throughout, because Blackfoot ceremonials belong, alas, mainly to earlier times. However, certain practices persist, albeit in more or less abbreviated or distorted form; and to that extent a "present tense" reading of this account is warranted.

783 of material preparatory to praying and that the sweat lodge was used for
● 824 the purification of part or all of the group. Whatever route was taken,
[782] the end was the same: the cleansing of the heart and soul from the defilements of life. In one informant's words:

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> Now I am told to illustrate the things we burn incense with, how these things came into existence. A person is out in the wilderness to get visions. He goes to the river and swims. He bathes himself and then he wipes himself with sage grass (*Artemisia ludoviciana*). His filthy body is not there and he walks away. He did not take any bedding. So he came to where he can build a shelter. There are a lot of creeping cedars (*Juniperus horizontalis*). He started to pull them out and make a shelter with them. The shelter is not the conical-shape shelter. They are called bridge shelters. He used the creeping cedar for a mattress. The creeping cedars smelled like his body. The holy spirit approached him. The human had a bad odor so the holy spirit fled from him. The first night he slept out; his body still has an odor. The next morning he started to cry. When he got drowsy from crying he slept again. He still has a bad odor. The next morning he will go to another place and he will sleep in another place. He will build another shelter with the same material. And he still has a bad odor. In the morning he starts crying again so that somebody might pity him, a strange person (supernatural being revealed as a man or animal). He built a shelter with the same material. On the fourth day he did not have any more body odor, and the holy spirit approached him. When the spirit noticed him, that he had no more body odor, then it gave him supernatural powers.

783 And in another account:
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> The leaves of the sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) are trimmed off, and they are moulded into balls, and the offering is cleansed with them. The sage is given to the ones that are going to sing, and they cleansed themselves with it. They cleansed the bad life that they had in the past, and now they are going to live a new one. Now, someone has a deceased relative and he is going to be purified by an older person. She will cleanse herself with the sage, and then they take them and they will throw them away. Now that dirt in the body is thrown away. That bad body. That's a cleansing of ourselves.

000 In the mythical tale of Scarface, the protegonist enjoyed the

773 824 [783] In the mythical tale of Scarface, the protagonist enjoyed the comradeship of Morning Star, who took him to his lodge in the supernatural realm. Scarface met Sun and Moon, who were offended by his foul odor and decided to wash him in a smudge of cedar. After proving his worth by ridding the neighborhood of seven deadly cranes, Sun agreed to grant Scarface's wish that his ugly scar be removed. 343 He built four sweat lodges of one hundred willows each; and, as the successive rituals were completed, his deformity gradually disappeared. Scarface finally emerged as a handsome young man, identical in feature to Morning Star. His scarred face was miraculously changed to that of a diety.

783 [824] Incensing procedure varied slightly among ceremonialists, but the general formula was well defined. In the making of a smudge, hot coals were removed from the fire by means of a forked stick of choke cherry (Prunus virginiana) about 60 cm. long. The coals were laid in a small cleared place (the altar), and whatever was going to be used—sweet grass, [788] alpine fir—was prayerfully positioned on top of the coals. The rising smoke was cupped in the hands and was carried, with brushing motions, from the head to the shoulders and down to the feet. The songs sung during the cupping and brushing were created especially for this purpose. The procedure was repeated four times, to symbolize the cleansing of the entire body. Ceremonial artifacts, too, were incensed. (The prescribed uses of incense for specific ceremonies are given in the Annotated List of Plants.)

343 783 824 The sweat lodge offered another means of purification—one that was rather an ordeal. Wands of willow (Salix spp.) were placed with both ends in the ground, so as to form a dome. The floor of the sweat lodge was covered with man sage (Artemisia ludoviciana), which served to cleanse the initiates during the sweat. Variations in the construction of the sweat lodge were dictated by the society or bundle to which the sweat lodge belonged; this will be discussed later.

000 belonged; this will be discussed later.

824 [783] One might ask why plants served as the means of purification. Why not an animal or its derivative? Why not simply some sort of gesture?

827 224 As the accounts quoted above clearly indicate, the sign of man's limitation was his scent. This was in keeping with a culture based on the hunt. Odor was of paramount importance: it was always the part of a man that traveled ahead of his presence, alerting the animals and determining in large part his success in supplying the necessities of life. (Hellson [171] has seen Cree bundles, created especially for the hunt, that contained the scent glands of particular animals and allowed the used to virtually walk right up to his prey.) Man's scent---so real in its immediate effects and at the same time so intangible, pervading the earth in all directions and moving without his control----was the perfect symbol of the relationship between the mortal and immortal realms. It followed that in order to transcend his finite nature and walk into the supernatural world, where he might gain help, he had first to lose his scent.

824 Now, it was recognized that plants were alive, just like animals. Seeds were planted in the Tobacco Planting ceremony; the generations were recognized; and sexual terms were applied to the parts of plants. Plants had odors, like men and animals. But they did not behave like animals. There were no accounts of plants talking to men. Plants did not have a social structure, as animals did. They did not react like animals. They were alive, and yet they exhibited a large number of inanimate traits.

If we combine the animate and inanimate traits, we find that plants were the ideal mediators between man and the supernatural realm. This was especially true of their ability to replace man's foul scent with their own and so symbolically release him from mortal bonds.

824 778 773 The mediating nature of plants can be seen in the important function of the Holy Turnip of the Natoas bundle. The turnip (symbolized by a plumed headdress) was the plant that was pulled from the ground by the woman who married Morning Star and went to live in the sky. It was through the hole left by the plant that she saw her people once again; then she became homesick and at length returned, bringing with her the Natos bundle as a gift from the supernatural realm. The turnip had quite literally become a gate through which the connection between man and the supernatural was realized.

824 [783] It was no accident that all the plants used in the smudges and sweat lodges were aromatic herbs. Sweet grass, juniper, alpine fir, and sage yielded potent scents to those in need.

[821] Another practice illustrates this point. It is well known that the elements of the weather were personified by the Blackfoot. Such was the [782] case with the thunder. It was during heavy storms that needles of alpine fir (*Abies lasiocarpa*) were placed on a smudge with the expressed desire that Thunder would smell the symbolic offering, recognize his loyal subjects, and keep his lightning away from the camps.

[781] The figuring of plants in important parts of Blackfoot religion and mythology is evidence of strong belief in their effectiveness in helping anyone disposed to use them for attaining spirituality. Other plants had slightly different functions in the religious life of the Blackfoot———aspen and poplar (*Populus* spp.) for centerpoles, the "power root" (*Angelica dawsonii*) of the Horn Society, and tobacco———but the difference seems to have been one of degree rather than essence.

This overview is not meant to be more than suggestive of Blackfoot religious conceptions. The topic far exceeds the scope of this study. Our task is merely to document some of the uses of plants in Blackfoor religious activity. The remainder of this paper is devoted to those particulars.

ANNOTATED LIST OF PLANTS

824 The following list of plants and their functions reflects the Blackfoot emphasis (see Overview) rather than botanical taxonomy. We have found a ratio of social restriction corresponding to the amount of power attributed to the plants: the more powerful the plant, the more restricted was its use.

SWEET GRASS

Hierchloe odorata

Sweet grass (Fig. 1)* grows from creeping rhizomes throughout the low meadows of southern Alberta and Montana. The specific epithet odorata bespeaks its delicate scent, which graces any place the dried grass is kept. In Blackfoot the plant is siputs-sima ("fragrant smell").

The grass could be harvested by anyone. This was done in late summer. A handful of stems was bound at the lower end with other stems; then it was braided into double strands about 45 cm long (Fig. 2). We were not able to obtain an origin myth for this plant; indeed, there may not be one.

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824 Virtually every holy artifact was incensed with sweet grass. The incensing usually was done at a smudge altar (Fig. 3) and with the help of a ceremonialist. Several small pieces were broken from the braid and placed on hot coals, which had been removed from the fire with a forked
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[577] stick. Prayers accompanied every smudge. It was believed that a person would not lie if he used the incense. Medicine-pipe owners were required to burn the incense twice a day: in the morning and in the evening.
[782] Almost every ceremony began with prayer and the burning of sweet grass. Sweet grass was essential to the raising of a fallen dancer or fallen

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*Figures follow the text.

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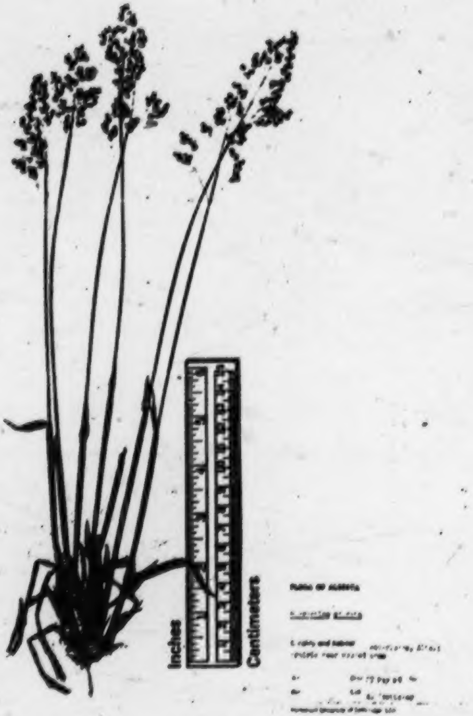
Inches
Centimeters

Fig. 1 — Sweetgrass (Hierochloe odorata). Photo courtesy of the University of Lethbridge Herbarium.

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Fig. 2 — North Peigan "cutting the hide" bundle showing sweetgrass braid. The bundle was used in the preparatory rites of the Sun Dance. Photo by J. C. Hellson.

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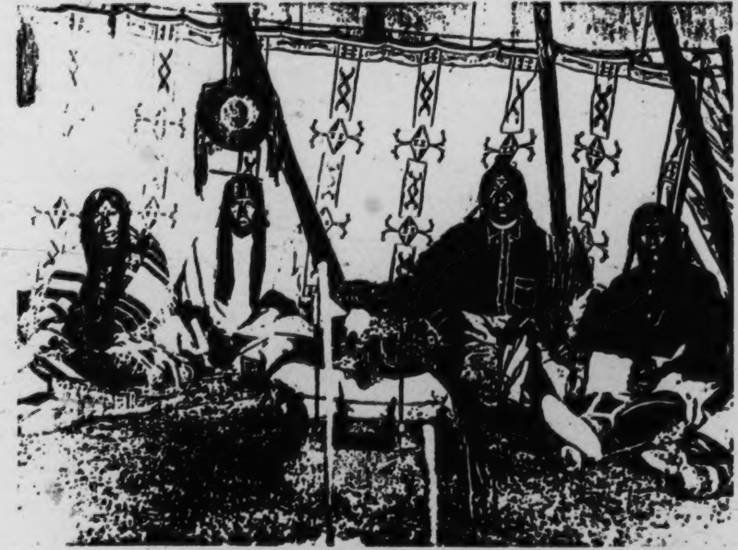

Fig. 3 — Interior of a Blackfoot lodge during a medicine pipe ritual, painted altar and incense smudge in center foreground. Photo courtesy of the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

778 paraphernalia. It was chewed in ceremonies involving prolonged fasting as a
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824 means of extended endurance. Sweet grass was used generally by everyone as
incense with daily prayers.

846 An occasion for the use of sweet grass---one that was somewhat outside
824
783 the bundle system but nevertheless of great importance---was the return of
a woman with her newborn child. Traditionally, a woman would remain apart
from her husband for about thirty-four days after giving birth. Just
[887] before returning home she would be assisted by a woman so old she could have
no more children. A complete set of new clothes was laid out for the mother.
While this was being done the mother bathed in water scented with sweet
grass. A smudge was prepared, and when the mother had finished bathing she
covered herself with a robe and stood over the incense from the smudge.
Then her new clothes were held to the smudge four times before she was
[302] allowed to put them on. Her face, arms, and feet were ochred red. She was
now considered to be completely cleansed (from the bad blood of the birth).
The old woman who assisted her took her prepartum clothing and threw it in
the river, where it floated away or sank out of sight. (Women who could
not afford a new set of clothes kept their old ones and were purified in
[842] them.) The mother then returned home as if she were newly married. (It
was at this time that a woman would begin the practice of birth control;
for this purpose a mixture of plants having abortifacient or contraceptive
properties was contained in a religious bundle of special design.)

824 Braids of sweet grass were tied vertically around the base of the Horn
Society staffs. Braids were also strung on the inside of headbands of the
Motokiks headdresses.

[825] One informant told us that the Owl and the Loon in the medicine pipes
owned the sweet grass and that the bear owned the juniper; but we have not

824 been able to review this with him. He said that the cutting of small trees
[825] was sanctified with fire originating from a sweet grass lighter.

TOBACCO

Nicotiana multivalvis

276 776 Smoking was an important part of Blackfoot ritual: like the communal
182 meal, it tended to emphasize the inclusiveness of those partaking.
575 249 Traditionally, the native tobacco (Nicotiana multivalvis) was ceremonially
796 planted and harvested by members of a North Blackfoot society known as the
Tobacco society (Fig. 4). (It is noteworthy that this society was not a
[184] [561] part of the age-graded system and that it was maintained only by the North
Blackfoot.) For about a week, each spring, members gathered at the sacred
planting-grounds. Elaborate ceremonies accompanied the sowing. The tobacco
[237] [415] seed, with fertilizer, had been stored through the winter in pericardium
containers of the society's Tobacco bundles. (The same bundle, less certain
paraphernalia, was alternately called the Beaver bundle.)

249 [782] Between the period of planting and havensting, taboos prevented anyone
[784] [786] from visiting the plots, because the young plants were being tended by
[776] supernatural Small People, who did their gardening in return for offerings
of miniature apparel, which had been left at the close of the planting
ceremony (Fig. 5).

824 778 At harvest, in the fall, the seed was used to replenish the bundle
276 supplies, and the leaves were distributed to the appropriate claimants, who
[249] in turn later distributed leaves to the other divisions of the tribe. The
tobacco usually was mixed with the leaves of kinnikinnik (Arctos-tephylos
uva-ursi) or the dried cambium or red-osier dogwood (Cornus stolonifera).
The mixtures were included with all religious bundles—either in the bundle
proper or in a preliminary bundle.

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137 to the lush riber-bottoms. Our information has to do only with those
growing along the prairie streams (Fig. 7).

343 Sweat lodges (Fig. 8, 9 & 10) were associated with all of the ceremonial
824 bundles, with most of the societies, with all of the medicine pipes, and
[778]
[178] with the Holy Lodge, or Okan, of the Sun Dance. Traditionally, the water
birch (Betula occidentalis) was used in the construction of sweat lodges;
however, in recent times, because of a difference of opinion among ceremonialists as to the origin of birch, only willows (Salix spp.) came to be used.
A given number of wands were sharpened at both ends. One end was planted in
the ground, and the wand was woven through the rest of the wands until the
other end reached the ground, where it was forced in. The sweat lodge was
a dome-shaped shelter in which two to six men could sit. When it was ready
for use it was covered with skin robes or blankets. In some cases the
[778] sweat lodges were painted and the ceremonial bundles were placed on top of
the lodge. Sweat lodges also were built for bundles that had not been used
for a long time.

[823] The door always faced east. (Sometimes there was a west door, through
which the participants left after the ceremony.) A small pit, of variable
size and shape, was excavated in the center of the floor, and hot stones
[782] were placed in it. Due west from the east door was the sweet-grass smudge.
The floor was covered with sage (Artemisia ludoviciana), which was used for
[782] cleansing. (Sometimes a small offering of meat and sage was buried in the
[27] base of the pit before the hot stones were rolled in.) Sage was chewed by
[784] assistants to the participants during the sweat-lodge rituals to relieve
thirst resulting from taboos against the consumption of liquids.

575 The Horn Society sweat lodge was constructed of fourteen willows. The
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824 Holy Woman's sweat lodge in the Sun Dance was made of one hundred willows,

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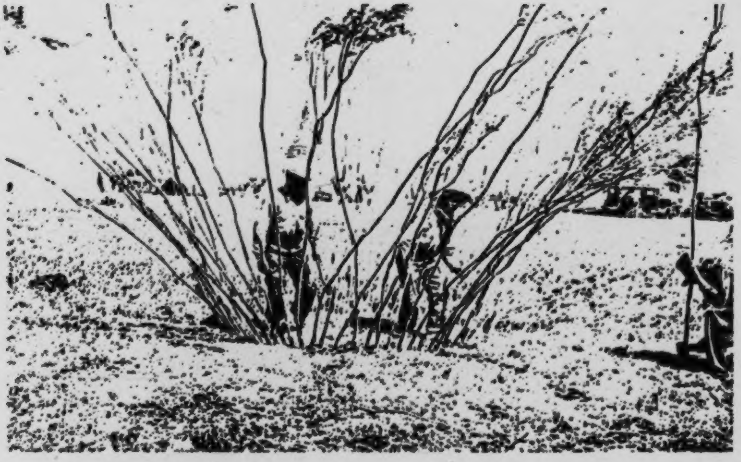

Fig. 9 — Blood Indians constructing sweat lodge. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

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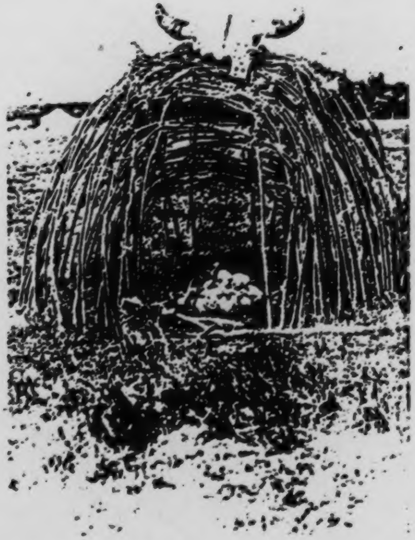

Fig. 10 -- South Peigan sweat lodge. Photo courtesy of J. C. Hellson.

575 343 824 which had been gathered by members of the Pigeon Society. The Motokiks Society (a woman's society) constructed its lodge with twelve willows. Medicine Pipes had fourteen. The used frame of a sweat lodge was left on the prairie (Fig. 10).

[184] [484] In winter some persons built sweat lodges on a circular ground-frame. We were told of a man named Stumic-so-suc (Buffalo Bull's Fat) who built such a lodge and transported it with him, intact, whenever camp was moved.

[796] Another function of the sweat lodge was to seal the ceremonial bundles at the close of the Sun Dance.

575 824 [796] Annual ceremonies of the Motokiks and Kaispa Societies used the pitch of willow galls for incense. It was also used during the transfer ceremonies of the Yellow-buffalo and Black-fuffalo tipi designs, the Hairlock robe, various tipi doors and numerous personal amulets.

SAGE

Artemisia ludoviciana Nutt.

824 Three kinds of sage were recognized by the Blackfoot, but only one was used in religious ritual. Artemisia ludoviciana (Fig. 11), known as man sage, is common throughout the prairie and foothills and may be gathered at any time during the summer months. It was fresh when used in the sweat lodges.

796 824 Participants in the sweat-lodge ceremonies wiped the sweat from their bodies with this sage. Sage was used to cleanse the headdresses of the Horn Society before they were transferred to new owners. In that transferral the headdress was laid on a bed of man sage. The singers of the All Smoking ceremony cleansed themselves with it. When ceremonial moccasins were put away they were packed with man sage.

The Holy Offering of the All Smoking ceremony and of certain Horn

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796 Society rituals was traditionally made from two incense tongs, but recently
● 824 [178] two poles crossed at right angles have been used. Eagle feathers and cloth
[237] are attached at the top. The sage is tied at both ends of the arms and
at the center, where the poles cross (Fig. 12), balls of sage are also used
to cleanse the body during participation in the All Smoking Ceremony.

[782] In the Okan (Holy Lodge) of the Sun Dance the Lodge dancers wore sage
around their wrists and ankles---as though they were themselves offerings.

[785] Among the Peigan, one man fasted until the Okan center pole was raised;
[302] then he entered a sweat lodge and used sage to wipe off the black paint
with which he had been covered. In early times sage was used as a bed for
the Buffalo Stones (Iniskim) during buffalo drive rituals.

[823] It seems that the proper way to dispose of the sage was to throw it
eastward rather than burn it or just put it down. There were other uses of
[775] course. A person afraid of a ghost would cleanse himself with sage. A
[773] man who was going to enter a horse race might do the same. There does not
appear to be an origin myth for this plant.

SASKATOON

Amelanchier alnifolia Nutt

824 796 262 The saskatoon (Fig. 13) is a well known bush of the river bottoms and
coulee slopes. Its berries make preserves and tasty snacks. They were
included in Blackfoot ritual meals. A berry soup accompanied most
ceremonial events, such as the transfer of a tipi design or the opening
[462] of a Medicine Pipe bundle or a Beaver bundle. The woman prepared the
soup from saskatoon berries, assorted roots, fat, and water. At an appointed
[782] time during the ceremony this soup was served to all participants. The soup
was blessed, and an offering of one of the berries was put back into the
ground, before eating began. A few mouthfuls were taken; then the

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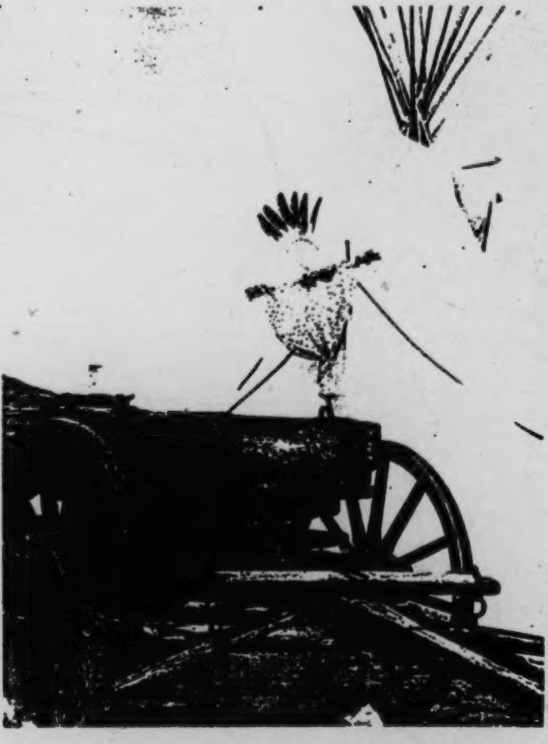

Fig. 12 -- Holy offering of the Horn Society of the Blood Indians, note sage (Artemisia ludoviciana) on the cross piece. Photo courtesy of J. Dawson.

824 796 remainder of the soup was given to one or another of the women, who would
262 take it home to her children.

Although the saskatoon was the berry most often used in making the soup, one informant told us that the choke cherry (Prunus virginiana) was brewed for the Beaver bundle ceremony and by those who had vowed to sponsor a Holy Lodge.

824 The saskatoon also figured in the Tobacco Planting ceremony of the North
[249] Blackfoot. The berries were mixed with elk manure and tobacco seed, and the
[237] mixture was planted in a small prairie plot.

The saskatoon was referred to as the "real berry bush".

POPLARS

Populus spp.

824 346 The poplars that grow in profusion along the river-bottoms and dominate
the parkland bordering the prairie served in Blackfoot religion only for the
making of the centerpoles of the ceremonial lodges (Fig. 14).

The centerpoles of the Okan (Holy Lodge of the Sun Dance) and the Motokiks
Society lodges were made originally from aspen (Populus tremuloides, Fig. 15);
292 824 later, any kind of river cottonwood was used. In addition, the Motokiks
575 wore headwreaths of aspen (Fig. 16). The rest of the Motokiks lodge was
575 346 constructed of travois frames, which were leaned against each other to form
[417] a framework for the walls and roof.

346 824 For the Okan, the pole was chosen by the members of the Horn Society who
796 had acted as scouts. They derived their authority from bundles owned for
[575] [701] this purpose. A scout had to be a man renowned for courage and honesty.
[778] When he found a suitable tree he counted coup four times before felling it.
[555] When it was down, the bystanders rushed to the tree and counted coup on it
as though it were an enemy; indeed, that was what it symbolized.

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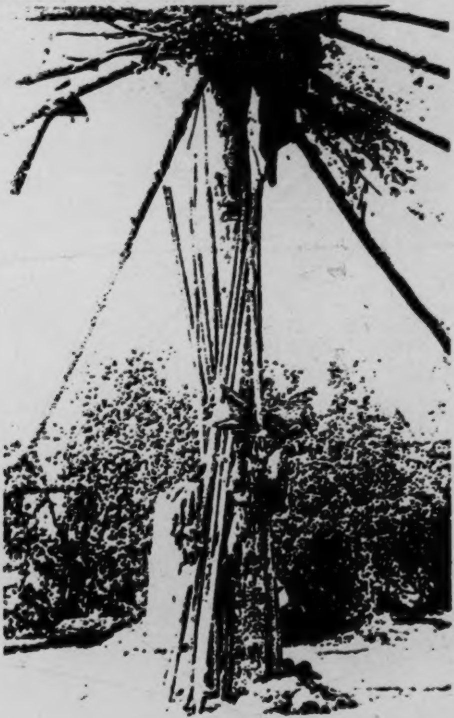

Fig. 14 — Center pole of the lodge at a Blackfoot Sun Dance. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

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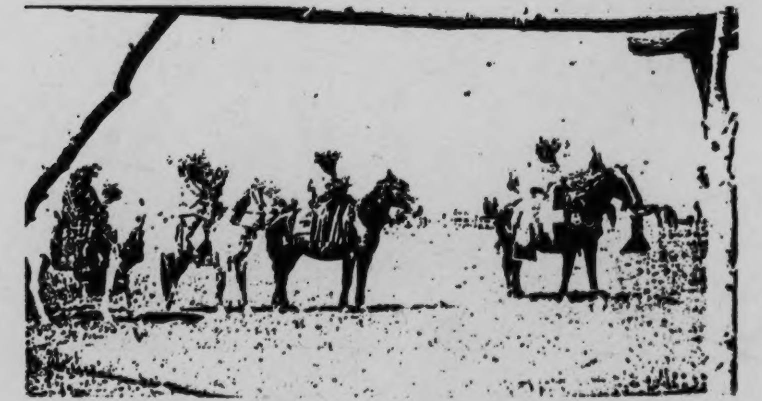

Fig. 16 — Motokiks Society members wearing head wreaths of aspen at Blackfoot Sun Dance. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

346 The tree was debranched and carried (by wagon, in later days) to its
824 place of erection. All could help in raising the center pole, and while it
796 was going up everybody sang songs of rejoicing and fired guns into the air.
Then certain societies were chosen to gather branches for use in completing
[178] the lodge. In recent times, among the North Blackfoot these duties have
[575] fallen to the Prairie Chicken and Crazy Dog societies. They return on
horseback, holding the boughs erect and singing songs of joy.

[823] The parade traverses the camp sunwise and enters by the west gate (Fig. 17).

CREEPING JUNIPER

Juniperus horizontalis Moench

824 Creeping juniper (Fig. 18), called sik-si-nou-koo ("black round object
(berry)") in Blackfoot, is a common plant of the plains. Although it is
strongly aromatic, it was not used as incense; however, there were other
uses for its branches and berries.

824
796 The Holy Lodge dancer of the Sun Dance performed upon a carpet of
[784] juniper branches. It was forbidden to spit on the covering; instead, one
[237] had to lift the branches and spit under them. An Okan dancer held the wing
[292] of an owl in his left hand and a branch of juniper in the other. One
informant said that, in addition to carrying the branch, some dancers wore
headpieces of juniper berries; the headpiece had seven berries representing
[532] the Bunched Stars (Pleiades). (The same stars are portrayed in tipi designs.)
Sprigs of creeping juniper were also used symbolically to decorate the altar
of the Marten-designed tipi.

[533] Although there does not seem to have been any song directly associated
with the creeping juniper, there was an indirect reference in the songs of
[292] the Weasel-tailed suits. These suits, which were fringed with white weasel
[237] tails, were considered to be very powerful and had to be transferred just

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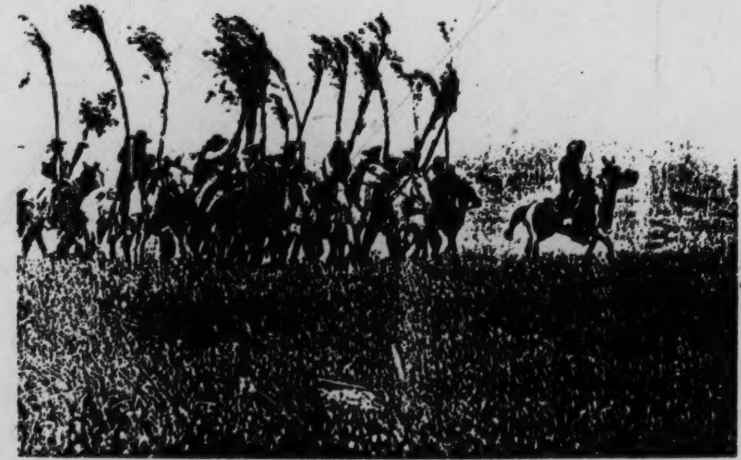

Fig. 17 -- Bringing in the branches for the Sun Dance lodge. Blackfoot. Photo courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada.

824 796 [237] [292] like a religious bundle. One informant, who owned a Weasel-tailed suit, said that the black tip of the weasel's tail represented a creeping juniper berry that had become attached.

ALPINE FIR

824 783 782 *Abies lasiocarpa* (Hook) Nutt

Katoy-yis, the Blackfoot "sweet pine"----that is, alpine fir (Fig. 19)----was used an incense, primarily in association with the Medicine Pipe bundles. [276] [773] [789] [821] 778 783 824 This was because pipes had been given by Thunder. Similarly, a smudge of alpine-fir needles was made, for safety's sake during severe thunderstorms. For the benefit of the reader and student we have included a list of medicine pipe bundles with which the use of this plant is required as incense:

Long Time Pipe
Riding Pipe
Gros Ventre Pipe
Cree Pipe
Mandan Pipe
Opposite Direction Pipe
Arapahoe Pipe
Childrens Pipe
Short Pipe
Small Pipe
Red Covered Pipe
Shaggy Covered Pipe
White Mans Pipe
Sarsi Pipe
Numerous unnamed medicine pipe bundles

000 We have found fir needles in the initiation bundles of the Horn Society.

575 we have found
824 fir needles in the initiation bundles of the Horn Society.
778 We were told that the needles were mixed with the dry paint to make it smell
better. Fir needles also were chewed and then sprayed over the Horn
[783] ceremonial containers to purify them.

[783] Fir needles were used as incense during the transfer ceremonies of the Black Spring tipi design and the Bear Medicine Hat bundle.

PUFFBALLS

Lycoperdon spp.

824 The prairie puffball (a fungus) figured in Blackfoot religious life. The Blackfoot name for it is ka-ka-toos ("less powerful"), which implies that puffballs are stars fallen to earth during supernatural events.

[776] There is a story about the woman who married Morning Star and had a child by this supernatural being. When she returned to earth with the Natoas bundles and her child she was directed by the star-personage to keep her baby from touching the ground for fourteen days. She managed all right until the day she went for wood and left the child in the care of a grandmother. The grandmother was careless, and the baby touched the ground. It turned into a large puffball and returned to the heavens as the Fixed Star (North Star), plugging the hole left by the woman when she pulled out the Holy Turnip.

[782]
[775]
[372]
[342]
[532] Lycoperdon and other fungus, Polyporus, were used as incense to keep ghosts away. They were also included in the Firelighters bundle of the Horn Society for use as a kind of punk to light a fire easily. On certain painted lodges (for example the Otter lodge, shown in Fig. 20), the small circles at the base of the tipi represented the puffball (not lakes as is commonly thought), which insured fire to those within.

000 LUPINES

Lupinus spp.

782 **LUPINES**

776 Lupinus spp.

302

●824 Lupines (Fig. 21) called "wolf turnips" by the Blackfoot, were used as incense in the Ghost Dance. (This was not the rivivalist movement dance of recent times.) The ceremonialist who was sponsoring it chewed the leaves of a lupine before he undertook any face painting. He did so to reinforce his powers.

YELLOW ANGELICA

Angelica dawsonii S. Wats

824
278 This is probably the most interesting of all the plants of religious use. The root, a religious power medicine, was called sau-gas-sim, it was also used medicinally. There are three ways in which Angelica (Fig. 22) was
[777] used: for luck in games of chance, for individual power by ceremonialists and diviners, and for collective power in designated societies. The
[782] harvesting of the root was the same in all cases: those responsible for
[285] gathering it would first pray; the root was dug while more prayers were sung; and the newly dug roots were tied to a circular piece of rawhide by means of a thong, which was laced through holes along the rim. The roots were kept there until needed.

541 For luck, the root was used in horse-racing and in the hand game. In
824 the horse race, the root was tied in a small bundle and attached to the base
777 of the tail or to the bridle. No other horse could pass the one carrying sau-gas-sim. In a variation of this casting of a spell so that other horses could not pass, the root was held in the rider's mouth. Short pieces were broken from the stem of man sage (Artemisia ludoviciana) and a small, flat, white stone was collected. The man first sprayed the rock with juice from his mouth. Then the stems were placed on the ground; they represented the
[801] other horses. The stone was sprayed again and shoved toward the stems, without touching them, three times. At the fourth shove the stone was pressed onto the stems.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 43;

541 824 777 pressed onto the stems. Horses so cursed were sure to slacken in the race.

Another method made use of a quirt (or a rod). The sau-gas-sim was placed in the mouth, and the rider sprayed the quirt with the juice. This quirt was not used to whip the horse. When the race began, the rider would try to get on the right side of the other horses; he carried the magic quirt but whipped his horse with a regular one. At an opportune time the rider threw back the sprayed quirt, causing the other horses to fall behind.

Sometimes a man used a small, flat stone that had been sprayed with the root. When no one was looking it was thrown at the competing horse. That horse would trip, probably break a leg, and die; and its owner would be sick for days.

524 525 824 777 For use in the hand game, the root was kept in the mouth. This would make the other players lazy, and they would lose continually. But if a man was suspected of using the power root, there was a defense against its
[825] influence. The loser went to his lodge (or to one nearby) and asked for a small piece of meat, which he combined with man-sage leaves. Carrying this charm in his pocket, he returned to the gambling place, where he walked abruptly among the participants and took the dice in his hands. Then he pretended to sing and perform with the dice——all the while secretly rubbing
[827] them with the meat-and-sage mixture. After he handed back the dice the man who had been using the sau-gas-sim would get a headache and grow lazy, losing all he had won.

824 777 [782] [695] The power root was used by ceremonialists to bless others with long life and good luck. Vows were made with sau-gas-sim, ceremony called for spitting on the hands and touching the head, shoulders, chest and hips: that insured the validity of whatever was said thereafter.

000 We have been told that the power root was once included in the rites of

● 824 We have been
575 told that the power root was once included in the rites of
[561] most of the age-graded societies and of the Natoas Beaver and Medicine Pipe bundles. Most of these rites are now extinct; only the rites of the Horns and the Motokiks persist, and they are incomplete.

796 In the Horn Society the root figured mainly in the initiation ceremonies:
824 it could be found in the nontransferable initiation bundles. Having been
575
778 distributed by the owner of the Spear Staff bundle to the others, down to the owner of the Spear Staff bundle to the others down to the owner of the Marten, the root was kept in the mouth and used to bless the initiates. After the ritual the root was tied to the paint-application sticks (Fig. 23 &24), to fortify and replenish the supernatural power inherent in the paint. The same was done with a wooden scratching-pin, which was either worn in the hair or attached to one's garments. This was done in preparation for the next opening ceremony.

[842] Sau-gas-sin was used during the secret ceremony of the Horns, in which the chief ceremonialist participated in a fertility rite with the initiates's wife. Pieces of the root were attached to the binding of the Spear Staff (with bundle), which was the head staff of the society.

[754] Apparently, curses were indulged in by the Horn Society as a whole. In
[343] this case a special sweat lodge was constructed. A human figure representing the condemned man was drawn in the bottom of a pit intended to contain hot stones. The stones were brought in at a designated time and placed on the drawing to represent the victim's suffering. The power root was kept in the mouth during this ceremony.

[302] The Pigeon Society used the same root during the ritual of body-painting
[292] and in the same manner as did the Horn Society. The root was tied to the headdresses of all members of this society.

000 Society members were very careful to avoid being provoked while the root

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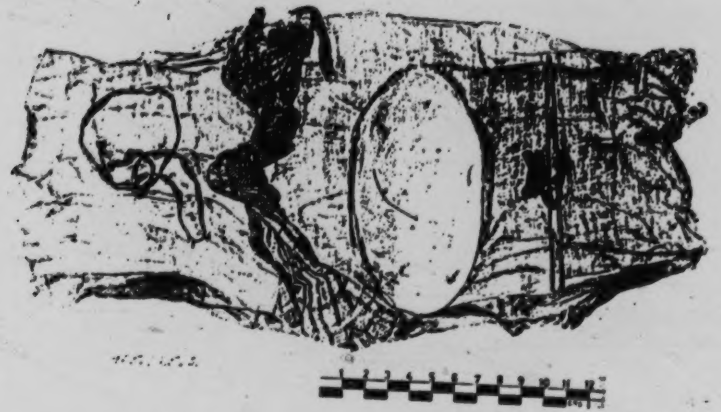

Fig. 23 — Unit from an initiation bundle of the Blackfoot Horn Society showing power root attached to paint application stick. Photo courtesy of the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

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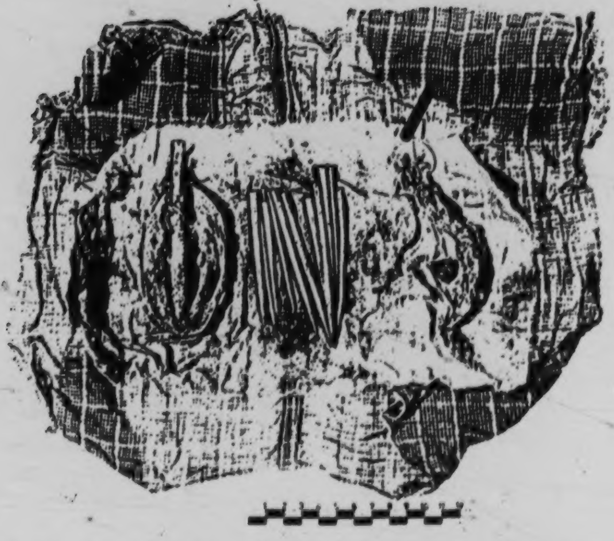

Fig. 24 — Unit from an initiation bundle of the Blackfoot Horn Society showing the power root exposed. Photo courtesy of the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

578 Society
824 members were very careful to avoid being provoked while the root
575 was being used. Angry words spoken in such circumstances were likely to become a sad reality to the person rebuked.

824 The influence of the root was only temporary: it lasted just as long as the root was kept by the person using it. A man was open to the same bad influences that could affect him before, once he stopped using sau-gas-sim. Men on the reserve who still use the root are feared by those who believe in its power.

[126] Although we have had little difficulty in obtaining information about the root, we have been unable to gather a specimen in the field; our only
[778] identification comes from herbarium material. (Possession depends on ceremonial transfer from a previous owner—an event which we were unable to arrange. Otherwise the power in the root might have bad effects, not only for the unanointed but also for all persons associated with him.)

Sau-gas-sim is certainly unique among the plants used by the Blackfoot for religious purposes. The power root placed the subject in a much more intimate relationship with the mysterious forces. Its proper application
[754] had devastating results, and its misuse had serious consequences. Whether this is evidence of withcraft among the Blackfoot is an open question; much more work needs to be done on this subject.

BALSAM ROOT

Balsamorhiza sagittata (pursh) Nutt.

Balsam root (Fig. 25) is a showy sunflower that brightens the foothills in late spring.

824 The root of ohm-ah-gahs ("big turnip") was used as incense during the
783 preparatory rites for the ceremonial runner who, in pre-horse days, had the
224 duty of hearding the buffalo toward the piskun (buffalo jump). The runner bathed himself in the smoke from a smudge of the dried root; according to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49]

824 783 224 [292] tradition, that would enable him to run long distances——more than twenty miles a day, we were told. The runner wore special moccasins, which were transferable annually.

824 782 [776] Balsam root was used as incense during the Planting ceremonies of the Tobacco Society (North Blackfoot). A horse was encouraged to stand near a smudge of ohm-ah-gaha. Then a rider leapt on the horse and galloped across the planting-grounds, stopping only to deposit small offerings to the Small People.

[778] [292] The root of ohm-ah-gaha was used as incense for the Crow-feather headpiece during the transfer ceremony of the Beaver bundle. (Fig. 26).

128 This completes the Annotated List of Plants in Part I. The remainder of the paper consists of a List of Bundles and Religious Artifacts Associated with the use of Sweet Grass.

LIST OF BUNDLES AND RELIGIOUS ARTIFACTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE USE OF SWEET GRASS

778 INDEPENDENT BUNDLES

- 824 Bear Knife bundles
- Beaver bundles
- Big Smoke ceremony bundles
- Birth Control bundles
- [524] → Thunder Bands
- [292] ← Ceremonial headdresses
    - [541] → Medicine hats (straight-ups)
    - Round Dance headdress
    - Half-white headdress
    - Half-red headdress
    - [411] → Split-horn headdress
    - Bear Medicine hat
    - Snake Horn headdress
- [292] ← Ceremonial robes
    - Weasel-tail robe
    - [789] → Calf robe
    - Hairlock robe
- [292] ← Ceremonial shirts
    - Weasel-tailed shirts (suits)
    - Hairlock shirts
    - Lord's shirt
    - War shirt
    - Ghost shirt
    - Thunder shirt
- Deer Dance bundles
    - Black-tailed Deer Dance bundle
- Ghost Dance bundles
- Holy Hand Game bundles
- Horse bundles
    - War bridle bundles
    - Mask bundles
    - Quirt bundles
    - Medicine bundles
- Lances
    - Medicine lance
    - Bear spear
- Name-giving bundles
- Natoas bundles
- Personal charms
    - Umbilical cord amulets
- Otter bundles
    - Rattling Smoking Otter bundle
- Personal war-charm bundles
- Riding Big Dance bundles
- Scalp Dance bundles
- Buffalo Runner bundles

778 **INDEPENDENT BUNDLES** (CONTINUED)

● 824

[755] Shaman's bundles

←

[714] Shields

←

[342] Bear shield

[532] Thunder shield

→

Never-Sits-Down shield

Ghost shield

Weasel shield

342 532 778 824 Tipis (painted lodges). Those lodges having flags with them are starred. Certain designs had ceremonial doors which were transferred separately. This list is not complete. There are many variations and combinations of many of these designs. Certain designs would use more than one kind of incense.

Bald Eagle design*

Wolverine design*

Otter design*

Half-yellow Painted Otter design*

Black Otter design*

Bear design

Black Buffalo design

Buffalo Head design

Hoof design

Fisher design*

Marten design*

Big Rock design

Underwater Monster design

Kit Fox design*

War Lodge design

Thunder Lodge design

Rattlesnake design

Crow design

Elk design - Litho spermum ruderale (Elk food) is used as incense during the transfer ceremony.

Middle-painted design

Beaver Lodge design

Skunk design

Cougar design

Half-black and Half-red design

White-tailed Deer design

Raven design

Deer design

Horse design

Prairie Chicken design

Crane design

Own design

Bullrushes design

Human design

Hailstone design

All-painted design

Antelope design

Mule design

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*In this and other societies the plural indicates that the bundles are alike.

778 **INDEPENDENT BUNDLES** (CONTINUED)

824 Moon design
342
532 Half-yellow design
Mountain Sheep design
Yellow Mink design
Winter-painted design
All-stars design
Big Circle design
Striped design
778 Head-down design
824
575 Fish design
Rib design
Gnawed design
Sun design
Black design
Blue Star design
Downward Star design
Red Striped design
Eagle Trap design
Yellow Thunder design
Wave design
Loop design
Four Tail design
Arrow design
Pine Tree design
Spider design
Butterfly design
Swallow design
Badger design
Weasel design
Coyote design
Wolf design
Goat design
Mule Deer design

SOCIETY BUNDLES

Black Seizers Society
- Black Seizers medicine pipe
- Wolf-collar bundle
- Crow headpiece bundles*A -
- Red Seizers bundles
- Coyote bundle

Braves Society
- Bear-belt bundles
- All-white Braves bundles
- Willow Braves bundles
- Black Braves bundles

Bull Society
- Bull headdress bundles
- Buffalo-scalp headdress bundles
- Straight-up headdress bundles

Catchers Society

A./In this and other societies the plural indicates that the bundles are alike.--Analyst/

778
●824
575

SOCIETY BUNDLES (CONTINUED)

  - Black-covered pipe bundle
  - Quiver bundle
  - Bow bundles
- Crazy Dog Society
  - Rattle bundles
  - Leader's headdress bundle
- Crow-carrier Society
  - Crow-headpiece bundle
  - Staff bundles
  - White Crow-carrier bundles
  - Pink Crow-carrier bundles
  - Black Seizers Axe-owner bundle
- Crow Waters Society
  - Society bundles
- Dog Society
  - Black Rope bundles
  - Black Dog bundles
  - Yellow Dog bundles
  - Coyote bundle
  - Snake-carrier bundles
- Flies Society
  - Claw bundles
- Horn Society (Although there were Peigan members, the Horns operated as autonomous societies only among the Blood and the North Blackfoot.)
  - Straight-up headdress bundles
  - Horned-bonnet headdress bundles
  - Arrow headdress bundle
  - Initiation bundles
  - Scout bundle
  - Firelighter's bundle
  - White-wrapping staff bundle
  - Black or White Otter staff bundle
  - Yellow staff bundle
  - Wristlets staff bundle
  - Kit Fox staff bundles
  - Kit Fox headdress bundles
  - Hard Spear staff bundle
  - Rider's staff bundle (Also known as the Blackfoot staff to the Blood; introduced in 1912 from the North Blackfoot.)
  - Horn Society drum bundles (North Blackfoot)
  - Horn Society rattle bundles (North Blackfoot)
  - Big Smoke bundle (North Blackfoot)
  - Staff Second-highest in Power bundle (North Blackfoot)
  - Retreating staff bundle (North Blackfoot)
  - Otter bundle (North Blackfoot)
  - Swan Hip staff bundle
  - Marten staff bundle
  - Broad-wrapping staff bundle

778 SOCIETY BUNDLES (CONTINUED)

824
575 Kaispa Society (Sioux Society)
  - Red Fox Whip bundle
  - Staff bundle
  - Eagle-belt bundles
  - Drum bundle
  - Clown bundle
  - Crow-belt bundle
  - Whistle bundles
  - Announcer bundle
  - Belt bundles
  - Long Knife bundle
  - Straight-up headdress bundle
  - Whip bundles
  - Skewer bundles
  - Initiation staff bundle
- Kit Fox Society
  - Kit Fox-skin headdress bundle
  - Kit Fox staff bundles
- Motokiks Society
  - Box-and-arrow bundles (North Blackfoot)
  - Snake headdress bundles
  - Scabby-bull headdress bundles
  - Lame-bull headdress bundles
  - Bird headdress bundles
- Pigeon Society
  - Coyote bundle
  - Rattle bundle
  - Bear Pigeon bundles
  - Yellow Pigeon bundles
  - Pink Pigeon bundles
  - Smear staff bundle
- Prairie Chicken Society
  - Rattle bundles
- Small Flies Society
  - Claw bundles
- Tails Society
  - Breech-cloth bundles
- Tobacco Society
  - Tobacco Society bundles
- Bad Horn Society
  - Bad Horn Society bundles
- Crow Society
  - Crow Society bundles
- Bee Society
  - Bee Society bundles

Part II

PLANTS USED IN BIRTH CONTROL

Overview

● 824
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842
[847] The Blackfoot owned ceremonial bundles which were used to produce and prevent fertility. Our records indicate that botanical ingredients were used only to prevent conception and for the performance of abortion.

[p.56]

BIRTH CONTROL

824 In the matter of birth control, the Blackfoot practiced it in two ways.
842 778 Conception was thought to be avoided through the use of a special ceremonial
[847] bundle and abortions were performed with the aid of an herbal brew. The
[791] former required the services of a diviner who professed the power to prevent
conception while the latter was an event that could be accomplished by the
mother alone.

[126] Several of these anti-conception bundles, constructed between 1880-1930,
[791] have been collected and the authors reported of at least fourteen more on
the reservations of the Blackfoot, still being used by elderly diviners,
all women.

[301] There is a consistant pattern of bundle contents (see Figs. 27 &28);
[237] [386] otter-skin wristlets each with an incised bone bead, the design representing
[532] a snake; yellow ochre in a skinbag; and a quantity of pulverized plant
material in another skinbag. An exception to this pattern is the bundle
[291] collected by Ewers which contained a beaded, snake-shaped belt and lacked
[301] wristlets.

824 A woman seeking conception control would approach a diviner for
778 791 instruction in the use of the bundle. The diviner would, for a fee, use her
842 bundle on the patient or make one for her. Without going into the details
[302] of the ceremony, we should note that the major part of the ritual involves
the ochreing of the body from the head down to the navel and from the feet
[301] to the knees, therby isolating the reproductive area. The wristlets were
[784] worn for a prescribed period during which time the patient was enjoined to
[825] observe certain taboos. The ceremony was usually performed in the spring
when the snakes emerged from hibernation.

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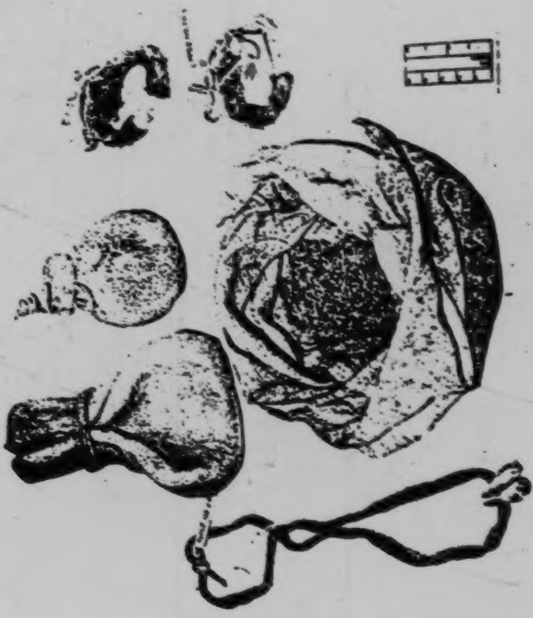

Fig. 27 — Blackfoot birth control bundle. Photo courtesy of J.C. Hellson.

824 842 278 [778] Samples of the pulverized plant material from two seperate bundles have been identified as the flowers and leaves of new birch suckers (Betula occidentalis). Informants bear out this fact and explain that a decoction of this material is taken as a drink in the event that the power of the bundle to stop conception fails.

824 847 278 [778] Informants have identified at least three other plants which were used to cause abortion: Anemone multifida, "crooked stem", and Draba incerta. As far as we know, though, they are not associated with any bundles.

844 824 278 On the topic of childbirth, the plants listed below were used to induce and/or speed delivery.

ACHILLEA MILLEFOLIUM

An old woman would brew the leaves for a woman that was going to have a baby. When she drank it, she started having pains and as the pains got worse, she would drink more. Then she would deliver.

The brew is also drunk to expel the afterbirth. The pattern is to drink it and rub it on the affected part.

ANEMONE PATENS

The plant is boiled and drunk by women to speed delivery.

CAMASSIA QUAMASH

The women will drink the decoction of the root to induce labor.

HIEROCHLOE ODORATA

A tea of sweet grass is taken to stop vaginal bleeding after birth and to help expel the afterbirth.

ARTEMISIA CAMPESTRIS

[847] Women will drink the decoction of the leaves to abort difficult pregnancies.

844
824
278 **POPULUS TREMULOIDES**

The bark was scraped and the scrapings brewed for women about to give birth.

"COCK-TAHN"

The infusion of the root was given to women in the preliminary stages of labor to speed the birth. The baby was bathed in the solution right after, which gave it additional strength to survive.

OSMORHIZA OCC[illegible]NTALIS

A drench of the infused root was taken by women to induce labor.

SELAGINELLA DENSA

One old lady used the decoction of the plant to induce labor while others used the plant to expel the afterbirth.

PYROLA spp.

Women would drink the infusion of the leaves and root to expel afterbirth.

LYGODESMIA JUNCEA

824
278 Pregnant women drank a decoction of "oot-squeeks-sse" (blue sticks) for
[843]
[757] symptoms resembling heartburn.

PHYSARIA DIDYMOCARPA

[847] Women would drink the infusion in small amounts to abort.

> 756 hot stone. But they would not hurt you. Then he
> 787 disappeared. Everything was gone and I woke up on
> the prairie. After four days it happened again.
> 756 The doctor gave me manigahpi and choke cherry bark
> 757 (inner cambium). It used it and skelton weed in a
> [824] mixture for liver trouble. A tea was made and drunk
> [278] and was effective immediately. I used it on my wife
> for her liver. I still have my bone tube and beaded
> medicine bags. I used pine pitch and man sage for
> coughing. Everybody knew who I was and came for help.
> I was paid in blankets, shirts and money for treating
> boys and girls, etc. Then I got cancer and quit my
> practice. I gave my drum to another who still
> practices.

824 Like divination, the common (or non-prescription) curing made ready use
278
757 of various plant infusions. The use of these cures was not restricted and
[422] they were not considered to be supernatural in origin. These were usually
swallowed hot and the rest of the brew rubbed on the affected part. Enemas
were common as were poultices and bandages.

[128] Maladies did not have specific names beyond the general distinction of
headache, toothache, stomach ache, respiratory trouble, etc. and the
information is grouped under the general headings as they were described
by informants during interviews.

757 Today, most of the plants listed here are rarely used, hospitals
177 having virtually replaced Blackfoot medicine and it is certain that our
list is only representative of various cures, the bulk of which is now
lost.

ANNOTATED LIST OF BLACKFOOT MEDICINAL PLANTS

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PLANTS USED TO TREAT DIGESTIVE DISORDERS

Abies lasiocarpa

The resin was brewed and taken as a emetic with the intent of "cleaning the insides". Also used in poultices for fevers and chest colds. (McClintock 1910).

Acer glabrum

An infusion of the bark was taken in the morning as a cathartic.

Achillea millefolium

The infusion of the plant was taken to soothe the pain of gastro enteritis and liver trouble. Also, the brew was rubbed on the affected part of the body.

Allium spp.

An infusion of the bulb was taken to stop vomiting and enabled the patient to retain his food. Nursing mothers would drink the brew with the belief that the medicinal properties would be passed to the child through the milk.

For the reverse effect, one would steam himself with the infusion of *Allium* and *Monarda*, then drink the brew which served as an emetic. The Blackfoot expression for vomiting is to "break it" implying that the sickness was forced from the body.

Amelanchier alnifolia

A person with upset stomach would drink saskatoon berry juice. It was also a mild laxative.

Angelica dawsonii

An infusion of the root was taken for intestinal ailment . Children with malnutrition drank the brew, too. [046]

824
278
757 Arctostaphylos uva-ursi

The infusion of the plant was used as a mouthwash for canker and sore gums.

Artemisia campestris

The fresh leaves were chewed for stomach trouble.

Aster spp.

[237] An enema, made from the infusion of the plant and blown through a greased eagle wing-bone, was administered to babies with colic or intestinal trouble.

Berberis repens

The berries were brewed for kidney trouble.

Cornus stolonifera

An infusion of the cambium was given for liver trouble and related disorders.

Crataegus chrysocarpa

During the winter, the dried berries could be boiled and the brew taken as a mild laxative.

Epilobium angustifolium

An infusion of the root and inner cortex was administered through an enema to babies who had difficulty eliminating.

Fragaria spp.

An infusion of the plant was used to treat diarrhea.

Gaillardia aristata

An infusion of the root was taken for gastroenteritis.

Geum triflorum

An infusion of the root was used as a mouthwash for canker and sore throat.

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Heracleum lanatum

A brew of the fresh, young stems was taken to treat diarrhea.

Lomatium triternatum

Long distance runners chewed the fruit to avoid sideaches.

Lonicera involucrata

A diviner named Knife administered a brew of the berries to treat chest and stomach troubles. The cathartic and emetic effects of the brew, which "cleansed the body", were counteracted by drinking an infusion of the roots of Perideridia gairdneri.

Lupinus spp.

An infusion of the plant was taken for indigestion and gas.

Lygodesmia juncea

The plant was brewed as a general tonic for children.

Mamillaria vivipara

A small amount of the fruit was eaten to treat diarrhea. Stomach cramps and diarrhea resulted from eating too much fruit.

Monarda fistulosa

Aching kidneys were soothed by drinking Monarda tea.

Perideridia gairdneri

When eaten in quantity, the roots acted as a diuretic and mild laxative.

Phlox hoodii

An infusion of the plant was given to children as a mild laxative.

Polyporus spp.

A tea of this shelf fungus was given to treat diarrhea and dysentery. It was quite valuable to have during the winter.

Populus spp.

During the springtime the infusion of the bark of river cottonwoods was

824 taken for liver trouble.

278
757 Potentilla anserina

The plant was soaked in water and the solution taken as an emetic for stomach disorders.

Prunus virginiana

The berry juice was used to treat diarrhea and sore throat. The cambium of choke-cherry and saskatoon was infused and taken as a purge. In [853] addition to drinking the tea in the belief that the medicinal qualities were passed to the baby through the milk, nursing mothers administered it to the child through an enema. The treatment was repeated periodically. A willow (Salix) infusion was used to counteract the laxative effect of the choke-cherry one.

Psoralea esculenta

The root was dug, dried then brewed for sore throat and gastroenteritis. Also, the root was chewed and blown into a baby's rectum to treat colic.

Pyrola spp.

An infusion of the leaves was given as a laxative.

Ribes spp.

The berries were eaten as a mild laxative.

Salix spp.

The fresh root was crushed and brewed for symptoms described as "waist trouble". Internal hemorrhage was treated with the same brew.

Shepherdia argentea

The berries were eaten for stomach trouble and as a mild laxative.

Spiraea densiflora

[237] An infusion of the root was administered through an eagle bone enema. If the brew was swallowed, a little was saved and rubbed on the affected

824 part of the body.

218
757 **Veratrum viride**

An infusion of the plant was taken for indigestion. As with the hawthorn (Crataegus chrysocarpa), the person would ask the plant "not to bite him" (cause stomach cramps) and promised to return the favor with a gift.

PLANTS IN THE TREATMENT OF URINARY AND VENEREAL DISORDERS

Abies lasiocarpa

A smudge of the needles was used to fumigate those whose faces were swollen from a form of venereal disease.

Achillea millefolium

[827] A tea of the plant was taken as a diuretic in the belief that the sickness would pass with the urine. The infusion was also rubbed on the affected part.

Allium spp.

A disease which causes a swollen penis and severe constipation was treated by drinking an infusion of the bulb.

Castilleja spp.

The plant was mixed with warm water which was taken as a diuretic. Women who were bleeding from their vaginas (not menses) drank large quantities of the infusion of the plant and rubbed it on their abdomens.

Equisetum arvense

A powerful diuretic was made by infusing the root of the fertile stems. The brew was also rubbed on the groin. No one would disturb the place where the sickness was urinated for fear of becoming diseased.

Hierchloe odorata

Men would drink a sweetgrass tea to treat venereal infections.

824
278
757 **Lygodesmia juncea**

Kidney trouble was treated by drinking an infusion of the plant. The galls of the plant were pulverized in a soft hide bag and the powder used to make a diuretic tea.

Perideridia gairdneri

An infusion of the root was taken as a diuretic.

Pyrola spp.

An infusion of the leaves and/or roots was taken as a diuretic.

Spiraea densiflora

An infusion of the root was taken by anyone with venereal complaints.

"Weasel Eyes"

An infusion of the root was given to those suffering from swollen urinary organs.

PLANTS IN THE TREATMENT OF RESPIRATORY DISORDERS

Abies lasiocarpa

An infusion of the needles was given to people coughing blood, a sign of Tuberculosis. Also, the patient would fumigate himself with a smudge of the needles.

Achillea millefolium

A strong infusion of the plant was taken for sore throat.

Allium spp.

Colds were treated by fumigating the patient with a smudge of the bulb. Snuff was made from the dry bulb and used to open the sinuses. Anyone with a persistant cough would drink an infusion of the bulb.

Angelica dawsonii

An infusion of the root was given to those coughing blood.

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278
757

Artemisia campestris

The leaves were collected, dried and stored in rawhide bags until their infusion for coughs.

Artemisia ludoviciana

A sweatlodge or simple steam while covered with a blanket was prepared for anyone, especially children, with respiratory disorders. The leaves were chewed during the sweat. Later an infusion of the leaves was taken to relieve chest and throat constrictions.

Asclepias viridiflora

The root was chewed for the relief of sore throat.

Astralagus canadensis

The root was chewed by anyone who was spitting blood. An infusion of the root was taken for the same symptoms. When the root was boiled, the person would stoop over the steam and bathe his chest with hot water. A child's aching chest was treated in the same manner.

Castilleja spp.

A tea of the plant was given to those who were spitting blood. They would also rub the brew on the chest with a rag.

Cornus stolonifera

An infusion of the bark was given for chest colds.

Draba incerta

An infusion of the root was given to stop nose bleeds.

"Fish Backbone"

A tea of the root was given for coughs.

Gaillardia aristata

An infusion of the plant was used as nosedrops.

824
278
757

Geranium viscosissimum

In addition to a simple sweatbath, a person with a cold would drink an infusion of the leaves.

Geum triflorum

An infusion of the plant was given as a general tonic for severe cough.

Glycyrrhiza lepidota

An infusion of the root, which is very bitter, was taken for coughs, pain in the chest and sore throat.

Hierochloe odorata

A tea of the plant was given for coughs and sore throat.

Lomatium triternatum

An infusion of the roots and leaves was taken for chest troubles.

Lupinus spp.

People with hiccups would take a mouthful of the infusion of this plant, hold their ears, arch their necks and swallow, a sure cure.

Lygodesmia juncea

An infusion of the stem was taken for burning cough.

"Makes You Sneeze"

Scrapings of the dry root were snuffed to induce sneezing.

Monarda fistulosa

A tea of the plant was given for coughs.

Osmorhiza occidentalis

The infusion of the plant was given for coughs.

Perideridia gairdneri

The root was chewed or brewed for cough and sore throat. For catarrh, the nostrils were washed with an infusion of the root. The smoke from a smudge of the root was inhaled to relieve nagging coughs.

824 *Phlox hoodii*
278
757 An infusion of the plant was taken for chest pains.

Pinus contorta

Here is a fine example of the origin and use of a "personal medicine" which was later expanded to include general therapeutic practice. There was once a woman named Last Calf who was riddled with Tuberculosis. While she and her husband were camped near a beaver lodge, she noticed the animal's [787] tracks in the mud and left some food for it. The beaver took the gift and returned the favor by appearing to her in a vision. He gave her a cure for [533] Tuberculosis. She was to collect the pitch of the lodgepole pine, boil it in water and drink the infusion while uttering a special song. (The song had no words.) Last Calf's husband was alarmed at this treatment and cautioned her against poisoning but she went ahead and drank the brew. She said she felt as though she were going to die and began vomiting profusely. She drank again with the same result, but the next morning her chest was cleared as never before. Then the infusion was used by everyone to treat tubercular coughs.

Psoralea esculenta

The root was chewed to relieve sore throat and an infusion of the root consumed for chest trouble.

Pyrola spp.

An infusion of the flowers was given to coughing children. Pieces of the root made throat lozenges.

"Rattle-sound"

The plant (*Oxytropis splendens*?) was eaten by children with asthmatic conditions, especially when their breathing "rattled".

824
278
757 Rubus parvifolia

Diviners advised the patient to eat the berry in order to treat chest disorders.

Salix spp.

An infusion of the root was swallowed for throat constrictions.

Selaginella densa

People spitting blood drank an infusion of the plant.

Solidago spp.

A tea of the plant was given to anyone with a sore throat, throat constrictions or nasal congestion. The root was also chewed for relief. A diviner, like Dog Child, would use the tea along with his supernatural power to treat illness. [755]

"Stink-foot"

An infusion of the root was given to people spitting blood. The smoke from a smudge of the powdered root was inhaled by children with colds.

Thalictrum occidentalis

An infusion of the seeds was given for chest pain.

Veratrum viride

The stems were scraped and the powder snuffed to induce sneezing.

Viola adunca

An infusion of the leaves and roots was given to asthmatic children.

"Yellow berries"

An infusion of the leaves was given to people with tubercular coughs.

PLANTS IN THE TREATMENT OF SKIN DISORDERS AND SUPERFICIAL SWELLINGS

Achillea millefolium

The flowers were chewed and applied to swollen parts. An infusion of the

824 plant was applied to swellings and sores.
278
757 *Allium spp.*

An infusion of the bulb, sometimes combined with *Monarda*, was applied to swellings and sores. It produced a cooling sensation.

Angelica dawsonii

The chewed root was applied to swellings and was especially good for rash, exzema and athlete's foot. An infusion of the root was applied to the swellings of mumps and a disorder characterized by sore groin and underarms.

Arctostaphylos uva-ursi

[237] An infusion of the plant was mixed with grease and boiled hoof, then applied as a salve to itching and peeling scalp, rash, and skin sores. A baby's head was bathed in the solution.

Artemisia campestris

An infusion of the leaves was applied to exzema.

Artemisia ludoviciana

For their cooling effect, the leaves were applied on blisters and burst boils.

Asclepias viridiflora

The root was chewed and applied to swellings and rashes. It worked especially well on diarrhea rash and a nursing baby's sore gums.

Balsamorhiza sagittata

The root was chewed and applied to blisters and sores.

Berberis repens

Either the fresh berry or an infusion of the root was applied to boils. That caused them to open.

"Cock-tahn"

[752] The chewed root was applied to snake-bite and other swellings.

824 278 757 Dodecatheon radicatum

An infusion of the leaves was gargled, especially by children, for canker.

Equisetum arvense

Pieces of the stem were applied to rash under the arm and in the groin.

Evernia vulpina

[237] An infusion of this tree-lichen and marrow was taken for stomach disorders like ulcers. The plant was blackened in a fire and rubbed on rash, exzema and wart sores.

"False Tender Roots"

[237] The root was pulverized, mixed with grease and applied as a salve to sores and troublesome wounds.

"Fish Backbone"

[302] An infusion of the root was applied to acne. The hair was washed with it to control dandruff.

Gaillardia aristata

One man, Sun Runner, chewed the powdered root and applied the mixture to [853] skin disorders. An infusion of the plant was rubbed on nursing mother's sore nipples.

Geum triflorum

[237] An infusion of the root was mixed with grease and applied as a salve to sores, rashes, blisters and flesh wounds.

Glycerhiza lepidota

An infusion of the root was applied to swellings.

Heracleum lanatum

An infusion of the young stem was applied in the removal of warts.

Heuchera parvifolia

[752] The chewed root was applied to wounds and sores as a styptic. Especially

824 good for cold sores and canker of the mouth of children

278 *Hierchloe odorata*

757

The stems were soaked in water which was used to treat chapping and wind-
[237] burn. Sometimes the water was combined with grease and the salve applied for
the same troubles.

Lupinus spp.

An infusion of the root was rubbed on mumps as well as consumed to cure them.

824 *"Makes The Nose Bleed"*

278

757 It is said that if too much of this plant is consumed, the nose will
752 bleed. An infusion of the root was applied to persistent itch. It was also
used to treat head-sores and knee-sores.

Monarda fistulosa

The root was chewed by anyone with swollen neck glands. The flower head was bound over a burst boil and removed when the wound had healed.

Osmorhiza occidentalis

An infusion of the root was applied to sores. Women used it to treat swollen breasts.

Oxytropis sericea

An infusion of the leave' was applied to sores.

Perideridia gairdneri

An infusion of the root was applied to sores and wounds. Women used it to treat sore breasts, often with a massage using warm stones.

Physaria didymocarpa

The leaf was clenched between the teeth for toothache. Diaper rash was treated with a weak solution of the boiled plant. A newborn's umbilical remnant was treated with a weak solution of the boiled leaf in order that it

● 824 separate without complications.

278 Potentilla anserina
757
[752] The chewed root was applied to sores and scrapes.

Prunella vulgaris

[752] A boil was raised with hot water, opened, and the wound cleansed with an infusion of the plant. It was also applied to neck sores.

Pyrola spp.

An infusion of the root was applied to swollen neck glands.

Salix spp.

[237] An infusion of the root was mixed with kidney fat and applied to head sores.

"Stink Foot"

An infusion of the root was applied to swollen neck glands, especially with children.

Physaria didymocarpa

This plant was very effective in the treatment of toothache.

PLANTS IN THE TREATMENT OF RHEUMATISM AND RELATED DISORDERS

Artemisia campestris

The leaves were chewed and the spittle applied to rheumatic parts.

Balsamorhiza sagittata

The smoke from a smudge of the root was inhaled for body ache.

Juniperus spp.

A stiff back or back-ache was treated with an infusion, applied like a liniment, of Juniperus root and Populus leaves.

Physaria didymocarpa

An infusion of the root, which caused a penetrating heat, was applied

824 to aching parts of the body.

278 "Stink Foot"

757

[756] Diviners would treat swollen hands with the plant.

Viola adunca

An infusion of the roots and leaves was applied to sore and swollen joints.

PLANTS USED DURING MENSTRUATION

Artemisia frigida

[841] ,A pad of the plant was worn by women in their menses which reduced skin irritation.

"Wolf Back Brush"

An infusion of the plant was given to stop copious menses.

PLANTS USED IN THE TREATMENT OF HEADACHE AND FAINTING

Abies lasiocarpa

Headache and fainting were treated by inhaling the smoke from a smudge of the needles.

Allium spp.

Anyone with a headache (or sinus trouble) would cover himself with a blanket and stand over a smudge of the plant.

Geum triflorum

[276] The root was scraped, mixed with tobacco and smoked to "clear the head".

"Makes you Sneeze"

The dry root was scraped with a knife and snuffed for headache.

824 PLANTS IN THE TREATMENT OF BONE FRACTURES AND DISLOCATIONS

278 Physaria didymocarpa

752

A strong infusion of the plant is used as a liniment on sprains and

824 278 752 dislocations. It causes a heating sensation which penetrates and relieves the pain.

Psoralea esculenta

The chewed root is applied to sprains and fractures.

"Stink Font"

Diviners would treat broken ribs with the plant.

Yucca glauca

Roots were grated and boiled in water for breaks and sprains. Inflammation was reduced by holding the injured member in the rising steam (McClintock 1910).

757 824 278

PLANTS USED TO TREAT EYE AND EAR DISORDERS

Allium spp.

An infusion of the bulb was used as an eyewash. Ear infection was treated with the same brew.

Amelanchier alnifolia

The juice of the young berry was dripped into the eye which was then covered with a piece of soft hide. If unripe berries were not available, dried berries were boiled and used the same way. Also, the juice from the boiled berry was used for eardrops.

Artemisia campestris

The chewed leaves were applied to sore eyes.

Asclepias viridis flora

The chewed root was applied to sore eyes.

Disporum trachycarpum

To clear matter from the eye, a fresh seed was inserted and the closed eye rubbed until the seed was watered out with the matter clinging to it.

824 278 757 Sometimes the seeds were saved in bladder bags and used to treat snowblindness. The patient kept a few seeds in the eye overnight, removing them in the morning with an eyewash prepared from the bark of Disporum.

Dodecatheon radicatum

Eyedrops were made from the cooled infusion of the leaves. The eyes felt dry afterwards.

"Fish Backbone"

An infusion of the root was used as an eyewash.

Gaillardia aristata

An infusion of the plant was used as an eyewash.

Geranium viscosissimum

Sore eyes were treated with an infusion of the leaves.

Heirchloe odorata

An eyewash was made from water in which the stems were soaked.

"Makes you Sneeze"

The powdered root was applied to the eye for snowblindness.

Mammilaria vivpara

Matter was removed from the eye by inserting one of the seeds and rubbing the closed lid. The matter would cling to the seed which was then removed.

Osmorhiza occidentalis

Eye (and nose) troubles were treated with an infusion of the root.

Oxytropis sericea

An infusion of the leaves was used to treat ear troubles.

Physaria didymocarpa

Bloodshot eyes and ear infections were treated by applying a few drops of the infusion of the leaves.

824 278 757 Prunella vulgaris

An infusion of the plant was used as an eyewash, which kept the eyes moist on cold or windy days.

Psoralea esculenta

Matter in the eye was removed by chewing the root and applying the [237] spittle to the eye. Then a heated cloth or soft hide was kept on the eye until the patient felt confident to remove it. The root was prepared in the same way for earache with plugs fashioned from cloth or buffalo wool.

Pyrola spp.

The chewed root was applied to eye and ear disorders.

Salix spp.

Bloodshot or troublesome eyes were treated with an infusion of the root.

"Stink Foot"

An infusion of the root was applied repeatedly to sore eyes. -

PLANTS IN THE TREATMENT OF GENERAL DISEASES

Delphinium bicolor

An infusion of the plant was given to children who showed symptoms of diarrhea, frothy mouth and fainting spells. One application was sufficient to revive them.

"Fish Backbone"

An infusion of the plant was sugared and taken as a general tonic.

Geranium viscosissimum

Two cases were described of a young girl and a woman whose heads became abnormally large, as with dropsy or severe malnutrition. An infusion of the leaves was applied to the head and consumed, effecting temporary recovery, but both lost their hair and died later.

824 278 757 *Juniperus spp.*

An infusion of the root was given as a general tonic.

Lomatium triternatum

[755] [237] A diviner would use an eagle bone tube to blow the chewed root onto a patient's affected part. The healing-qualities of the spray were believed to penetrate the body at that place.

Perideridia gairdneri

[755] [533] [534] [237] [413] A diviner, like Dog Child, would find the root mysteriously during the rituals. While he sang, often with a drum, he would dig the ground with a special bear claw, coming up with the root everytime and anywhere. Then the root was chewed and sprayed on the patient, effecting the remedy.

Populus tremuloides

An infusion of the bark was given for symptoms resembling heart burn or general discomfort.

"Stink Foot"

The plant was burned to ward off sickness.

Yucca glauca

[302] Roots were boiled in water and used as a hair tonic to prevent falling hair. (McClintock 1910)

752 PLANTS ON THE TREATMENT OF WOUNDS AND HEMORRHAGE

824 278 *Artemisia frigida*

The leaves were chewed and applied to wounds in order to lessen the swelling. A bleeding nostril was stuffed with the soft leaves.

Astragalus canadensis

The chewed root was applied to cuts which were then bandaged.

Berberis repens

An infusion of the root was applied to wounds as an antiseptic.

824 752 278 [411]

Sometimes a piece of hide was tied over the wound to promote healing.

Cornus stolonifera

The berries were chewed and the spittle smeared on arrow points and musket balls in the belief that anyone receiving a wound from them would eventually die of infection. It was said that the wounds would never heal and that was why Blackfoot fighters were so feared.

Geum triflorum

An infusion of the root was applied to wounds.

Heuchera parvifolia

The root was chewed and applied to wounds as a styptic.

Lycoperdon spp.

The spores of this puffball were applied to wounds as a styptic. Pieces of the fungus were held to the nose to stop bleeding. The spores were mixed in water and consumed for treatment of internal hemorrhage.

Monarda fistulosa

Pieces of the plant were applied to cuts.

Physaria didymocarpa

An infusion of the plant was applied to wounds in order that they would heal with less irritation. It was especially good on foot wounds.

Pyrola spp.

The root was chewed and applied to wounds.

Yucca glauca

The roots were placed upon cuts to stop bleeding and allay inflammation. (McClintock 1910).

PLANTS IN THE TREATMENT OF FROSTBITE

"Cock-tahn"

The chewed root was applied to blisters and frostbites.

17: Hellson & Gadd E,N-4,5 (1970-1973) 1974 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
85

824 Eleagnus commutata
278
752 Children suffering from frostbite were treated with a strong solution
[237] of the boiled bark. When the blisters came off some grease was applied to speed the healing or it was mixed with the infusion beforehand and the solution applied like a salve. Apparently it dyed the skin brown, masking an unsightly white scar.

17: Hellson & Gadd E,N-4,5 (1970-1973) 1974 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Part IV

PLANTS USED IN HORSE MEDICINE

Overview

232 The double pattern of human medicine is repeated in veterinary techniques. The divination of horse diseases was a common event and there may have been special bundles for that purpose.

● [824] The common remedies fit the human pattern, often with the same plants
[237] in use. The various infusions were usually administered in the nose or
[413] mouth through a bone tube. Then the affected part of the animal was rubbed with the rest of the brew.

[178] Modern veterinary practice has replaced the old method. Even so, many people are familiar with at least a few remedies.

[p.86]

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824

PLANTS IN HORSE MEDICINE

Abies lasiocarpa

A smudge of the needles was made to fumigate sick horses. Little bags of the needles were tied on a belt which was hung around the horse's neck for perfume.

Acer glabum

An infusion of the bark was given to stop diarrhea.

Achillea millefolium

An eyewash was made from the infusion of the plant.

Allium spp.

Horses with sinus congestion were fumigated with a smudge of the bulb. They would sneeze the congestion away. When the horse raised its head and waved its tail the animal was cured. Pieces of *Monarda* and *Allium* were brewed together and the solution applied to saddle sores.

Angelica dawsonii

Horses with nasal gleet were fumigated with a smudge of the root. [237] [413] Sometimes an infusion of the root was administered orally through a horn tube. Hoof frogs were bathed in an infusion of the root after they were operated on, to stop infection.

Artemisia campestris

Back sores were treated with an infusion of the root.

Artemisia frigida and *ludoviciana*

Horses rolled in patches of frigida to treat their wounds. If a horse was coughing or sneezing an infusion of the plant was administered through the nostril. That cleaned the sinuses. Often, a horse was fumigated with a smudge of the plant. In order to find horses easily during the summer, large quantities of *frigida* and *ludoviciana* were collected and put on a

232
824 fire. The animals ran to the smoke because it kept flies and mosquitoes away.

Aster spp.

For nasal disorders, an infusion of the plant was administered through the nostril and the animal would sneeze the matter away. Dogs were wrapped in a hide to prevent movement and they were treated the same way. A dog's infected eye was washed with the same solution.

Berberis repens

The berry was soaked in water and the juice given to coughing horses. Body sores were treated with an infusion of the root.

Clematis verticellaris

An infusion of the plant was given as a diuretic.

Equisetum arvense

The roots of the fertile stems were infused and the brew given as a diuretic. It was also rubbed on the groin. The powdered stems were given in water to perk a horse up.

Gaillardia aristata

An infusion of the root was rubbed on saddle sores and places where the hair was falling out. The same infusion served as an eyewash for minor lacerations and was administered in drops from the flower head.

Geum triflorum

Boils and castration wounds were treated with an infusion of the root which stopped the bleeding and promoted rapid healing.

Glycyrrhiza lepidota

Windgalls were treated with the root of this plant.

Heuchera parvifolia

000 An infusion of the root was given for respiratory trouble. The horse

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[413]
The horse was held down and the solution administered through a blowing tube held to the nostril or the mouth.

Juniperus horizontalis

A horse was bathed with water in which the roots were soaked in order that the hair would shine.

Lupinus spp.

An infusion of the leaves was applied to the wounds caused by congregations of small biting flies, especially on the chest and udder.

Lycoperdon spp.

Pieces of the puffball were applied as a styptic on castration wounds and other cuts.

Lygodesmia juncea

Saddle sores and leg wounds were rubbed with an infusion of the plant. [802] The infusion was administered to coughing horses. The horse was held down to the count of ten stones after the solution was administered and then set free.

"Makes You Sneeze"

Horses with respiratory trouble were forced to snuff the powdered root.

Physaria didymocarpa

An infusion of the plant was applied as a liniment to the shoulders of work and wagon horses. It had a heating effect.

Populus tremuloides

Aspen bark made an excellent winter food for horses.

Perideridia gairdneri

An infusion of the root was given as a diuretic. Lazy horses were enlivened by chewing pieces of the root. An infusion of the root was poured into the nostril to treat nasal gleet. The horse would snort and the

232 pus would drop out.

● 824 *Prunella vulgaris*

An infusion of the plant was used to treat saddle and back sores. It also made an eyewash.

Salix spp.

The root was chewed and spit into the horse's eye if it was clouded or bloodshot.

Selaginella densa

The powdered root was applied to the mouth of racehorses in order to make them hyperactive. It was a personal medicine.

"Stink Foot"

Coughing horses were fumigated with the smudge of the root. For treatment of advanced stages of round worm infection, an infusion of the root was administered through the nostril as well as the mouth, which killed the
782 worms in the nasal and intestinal passages. Then the horse was incensed
232 with the powdered root as prayers were sung. The root was burned with choke
824 cherry coals which were on top of a small flat stone. Then the stone was buried, burned side down, in a badger hole while more prayers were sung and the sickness was considered to be "put away".

APPENDIX 1

PLANTS IN HORSE MEDICINE

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[027] Plant uses described below were not gathered by the authors, but were the result of research by Walter McClintock and John C. Ewers, and do not reflect our field work.

Abies lasiocarpa, *Actaea rubra* forma neglecta (A. ebrurnea Rhydb.) *Artemisia spp.*, and *Artemisia frigida* were in leather pouches belonging to a Peigan 'horse medicine' bundle. Their uses on horses were unknown though the same plants have human medicinal use. (Ewers, J.C., *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, p. 275).

Actaea rubra

Apparently a secret remedy was made from the plant. (Ewers, J.C., *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, p. 276).

Artemisia cana

Horses used this 'weasel grass' for fodder. (Ewers, J.C., *The Horse in Blackfoot Culture*, p. 41).

Buchloe dactyloides

Horses used this 'real grass' for fodder. (Ewers, J.C., The Horse in *Blackfoot Indian Culture*, p. 41).

Chrysothamnus nauseosus

This is probably 'blue stick grass', another horse fodder. (Ewers, J.C., The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, p. 41).

Equisetum arvense

Horses used this 'jointed water grass' for fodder.

Heuchera spp.

[237] Pieces of the 'dry root' were mixed with buffalo fat, boiled, and the infusion applied to saddle sores. (Ewers, J.C., *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture*, p.47).

000 232 824 infusion applied to saddle sores. (Ewers, J.C., The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, p. 47).

Lewisia pygmaea (L. rediviva), Lomatium dissectum (Leptotarnia multifida Nutt.), Valeriana sp., Yucca sp.

An infusion of anyone or all of the above plants was administered through a horses's mouth or nostril for colic or distemper. (Ewers, J.C., The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, p. 49).

Lomatium dissectum (Leptotaenia multifida Nutt.)

[825] [237] A fertility amulet was made with slices of this "big turnip". The slices were strung on a buckskin thong and hung around a mare's neck all winter in the belief that she would bear an exceptionally strong colt in the spring. (Ewers, J.C., The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, p. 55).

Muhlenbergia richardsonis (M. squarrosa (Trin) Rhydb.)

This plant was a probable horse medicine. (Ewers, J.C., The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, p. 276).

Nicotiana spp.

A mixture of tobacco, a bitter grass, fat and salt was applied to saddle sores to promote rapid healing. (Ewers, J.C., The Horse In Blackfoot Indian Culture, p. 47).

Osmorhiza chilensis (Washingtonia divaricata)

Roots of the 'smell mouth' (identified by Hellson and Gadd as Osmorhiza occidentalis were fed to mares during the winter in the belief that the effect would keep them in good condition for foaling. (McClintock, W., The Old North Trail, p. 525).

"Strong Root"

This plant was fed to horses to make them hardy. (Ewers, J.C. The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, p. 276).

232 Townsendia sericea (T. exapa (Rich.) Rhydb.)
● 824

An infusion of the plant was administered through the mouth or nostril to revive a tired horse. (Ewers, J.C., The Horse in Blackfoot Culture, p. 276).

Lomatium dissectum (Leptotaenia multifida Nutt.)

Horses with distemper were made to inhale the smoke of the root of "big turnip". (McClintock, W., The Old North Trail, p. 525-6).

17: Hellson & Gadd   E,N-4,5   (1970-1973) 1974   * NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Part V

PLANTS USED IN BLACKFOOT DIET

Overview

262
824 The Blackfoot used a variety of plants in their diet. Although we
126 recorded uses for 45 species, there were probably more before the introduc-
177 tion of commercial food stores. Only a few plants are used today, usually
as a supplement to purchased foods.

262 Roots and berries were the staple items. Women did the harvesting,
222 [462] sometimes assisted by their children. Roots were unearthed with a choke-
[412] cherry digging stick (Fig. 29). Some women wore a wide belt of rawhide
[293] which they used for protection and support while pushing against the stick.
Sometimes, though, roots were obtained by opening the underground dens of a
[251] small mammal and robbing their supplies. If the roots were not used
[237] immediately in soups or stews, they were usually sliced, strung on a thong,
dried, then greased with back or kidney fat and stored in a fetal fawnskin
or sheepskin bag (Fig. 30).

222 Berries, which were harvested from mid-July, were handpicked or shook
237
251 from their branches onto a wide hide (Figs. 31 & 32). The hide was usually
perforated with small holes which allowed air to pass through it and the
berries. For making supplies the hide was raised off the ground and its
burden sun-dried. The women turned the berries every few hours, discarding
ones of poor quality. Then the berries were greased and stored in the fetal
[264] bags. Fresh berries were simply eaten on the spot except with Prunus and
[412] Almanchier, which were often crushed with stone mauls, and mixed with
backfat and dried meat, the method of preparing pemmican.

000 The leaves and some roots of various plants served to spice the stews

[p. 94] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

● 824 The leaves and
263 some roots of various plants served to spice the stews
251 and broths. They were usually dried, pulverized and kept in little hide
237 pouches.

264 Meals were prepared in the morning and evening and usually included
252 boiled items, often a combination of boiled meat, roots, and spices.
262 Boiling was done in a small pit of varying size and depth (usually not more
[237] than 2 feet wide and 1 foot deep). The hole was lined with a single hide, the edges of which overlapped the ground level. Then water was added and heated with hot stones until it boiled and the broth or stew was ready. It was usual for food to be kept warm all day in readiness for visitors or snacks.

ANNOTATED LIST OF PLANTS USED IN BLACKFOOT DIET

824 262 [222] [254] [264] **Abies lasiocarpa**

The fragments of the cones left by squirrels and chipmunks were gathered and pulverized into a fine powder. Backfat and marrow were added and the mixture allowed to cool until it was solid. Then it was distributed as a confection during social gatherings and meetings. It was an aid to digestion as well as a delicacy.

Acer glabrum

[251] [263] The dry, crushed leaves were used to spice stored meat.

Achillea millefolium

[272] A pleasant tea was made from the leaves and flowers.

Allium spp.

[263] A few bulbs were used to spice soup made of wheat and marrow.

Amelanchier alnifolia

The saskatoon berry was a staple food. Its most common use was in the preparation of pemmican, a mixture of animal fat, dried meat, and the [251] [252] crushed berry. The berries could also be combined with an equal amount of fat and stuffed into a portion of intestine which was tied at both ends and boiled, later to be eaten like a sausage. Saskatoon and Red Osier Dogwood (Cornus stolonifera) berries were a favorite snack reserved for men. [251] Saskatoons were sometimes crushed with flour in preparation for winter storage.

824 262 251 237 For food reserves, the berries were dried on a raised hide that had numerous holes punctured in it. The hide was kept four or five feet from the ground to discourage children and animals from eating the berries. When it was dry, the choice of the harvest was greased with backfat and stored

824 262 in hide bags made of fetal deer of sheep. That way the berries would not 251 spoil. Then they would be added to soups or made into sausages.

237 Saskatoon leaves were crushed and mixed with blood, then dried and used to make a rich broth in winter.

The Blackfoot distinguished differences among river, coulee (cutbank) and mountain saskatoons and preferred the taste of the coulee one.

824 Arctostaphylos uva-ursi

262 [251] The tart berries were washed and eaten or dried and soaked later with sugar.

[272] [276] The leaves could be crushed and smoked with tobacco or brewed for tea.

Artemisia campestris

[278] [461] Runners chewed the leaves for their mentholating properties.

Artemisia frigida

[263] The crushed leaves were mixed with stored meat to maintain a good odor.

Artemisia ludoviciana

The leaves were chewed as a confection.

Asclepias viridiflora

[263] In the spring the plant was used to spice soups. The fresh root was often eaten and pieces saved for winter soups.

Astragalus canadensis

The root, known as "Tender Root", was another staple and was either [222] eaten fresh or boiled in blood or broth. Sometimes the roots were obtained by robbing the burrow of a small, mouse-like mammal.

Berberis repens

[261] On rare occasions the berry was eaten when nothing else was available.

Cammassia quamash

[252] [192] The bulbs were boiled and given in soup on special events. The

824 262 Blackfoot always obtained them from the Kootenay and called them "excrements", the same name for candy.

[192] [439] Cirsium spp.

The flower head was dissected and the pedicel eaten fresh.

Cornus stolonifera

[276] The cambium of the dogwood was dried, greased and crushed, then mixed with smoking tobacco.

The ripe berries were eaten.

Crataegus chrysocarpa

Certain conditions had to be met before the berries were eaten. Other-
[782] wise, they would cause stomach cramps. The procedure was to offer the tree
a gift, for boys a little bow and arrow made from the thorns, for girls a
pair of miniature moccasins fashioned from the leaves. In return, the tree
[222] would not allow its berries to "bite" the stomach. The gifts were placed
on the tree and the berries collected.

Disporum trachycarpum

The ripe berries of the "dog-foot" were eaten anytime.

Elaeagnus commutata

[251] The berries were peeled and eaten or mixed with grease and stored in a cool place, then eaten as a confection or added to soups and broths.

Epilobium angustifolium

The fresh roots of "red round object" were eaten.

Erythronium grandiflorum

See Lilium philadelphicum

Fritillaria pudica

See Lilium philadelphicum

824 262 251 Geranium viscosissimum

The leaves, which are quite pungent, were kept in food storage bags in order to mask the spoiling of their contents.

Heracleum lanatum

[462] [251] The stem of the young plant was pealed and eaten like celery. Women cut the stem into small pieces which were dipped in blood and stored until their use in soup and broths.

Lilium philadelphicum

[192] As with Erythronium and Fritillaria, the bulb was eaten fresh or with soup. The bulb of this plant (and by association the other two) is referred to as "bee's tooth" because it breaks into small, rice-like kernals when it is rubbed, imaginary bee teeth.

Lomatium triternatum

The flowers of "stands alone" or "many standing" were sometimes mixed with pemmican.

Mammilaria vivipara

The fruits of these "wild figs" were eaten as a confection.

Mentha arvensis

[272] The plant was bound in bunches, dried and used to make a delicious tea of spice pemmican and soups.

Osmorhiza occidentalis

The root of "smell mouth", which is quite sweet, was chewed as a confection, especially during the winter.

Perideridia gairdneri

The roots of "double turnip", another staple, were eaten fresh or saved for use in soups, etc. Children often made snacks of them while playing on the prairie.

[24 262 [261] Physaria didymocarpa

A person who had not eaten for a long time would drink a decoction of the plant slowly. This would expand his stomach gradually until he could eat a normal amount without pain.

Pinus contorta

[260] The pitch was chewed like gum.

Populus tremuloides

The cambium of aspen was eaten. Children especially would snack on it. Anyone observing a liquid taboo was allowed to suck a piece of the bark.

Potentilla fruticosa

[263] The leaves were mixed with dried meat as a deodorant and spice.

Prunus virginiana

[222] [462] [251] [237] Women collected the ripe berries, another staple, and divided them into those to be preserved whole and those to be crushed. The ones for storage were greased and dried in the sun, then put away in the fawn-skin bags. The others were crushed on a stone and mixed with backfat for pemmican or [272] added to soups, etc. The juice from the crushing was given as a special drink to husbands or the favorite child.

[263] [252] Choke-cherry sticks were gathered, stripped of their bark and inserted into roasting meat for spice.

Psoralea esculenta

[462] [412] Women dug the root with choke-cherry sticks. Then it was either peeled and eaten fresh or dried and added to winter supplies.

Ribes oxyacanthoides

"Punctured berries", a wild currant, were eaten fresh or added to soups, etc. They were not saved for winter use.

824 Rosa spp.

262 Rose hips, termed "wild tomatoes", could be crushed and added to pemmican.

Rubus parviflorus

The ripe fruit of this "red berry taste" was eaten.

Salix spp.

The cambium was scraped and eaten, especially by children. The galls on some river willows were peeled and eaten and were said to be quite tasty.

Selaginella densa

A starving man would not eat the plant because it had a doping effect, making one feel unusually strong. For this apparent effect, the plant was [263] called "feels chest". The plant was also dried and used to spice meat.

"Namanokchi" (Shepherdia argentea?)

The berries, which were very bitter, were eaten only through necessity and never stored.

Shepherdia candensis

[261] Even though they were bitter, the berries were eaten in lean times.

Thalictrum occidentalis

[263] The fruit of "Gros Ventre smell" were used to spice pemmican, dried meat and broths.

Veratrum viride

The young leaves of "bitter tastes" or "blue leaves" were added to soups. [855] Children were given the leaves to chew and they would stop their drooling.

"Yellow berries"

These berries were collected along the coulees and eaten fresh.

Part VI

PLANTS USED IN CRAFTS AND FOLKLORE

Overview

● 824 Blackfoot craft included the use of many plants. Hide tanning, household implements, adornments, dyes, glueing and finishing materials were readily drawn from the botanical world. Certain plants were included in children's games.

Plant lore must have been much more extensive than it is today because informants often recognized plants but were unable to recall their import. [128] The following list illustrates the extent to which plant lore has been retained in memory.

[463] Though certain people still do some craft, jewelry making, etc. the cultural matrix of plants in craft and folklore has become fragmented beyond recognition. The stories concerning the origin of certain plants are only indicative of a larger body of knowledge which probably included every plant known to the Blackfoot.

[302] [128] The cosmetic uses of plants are included in this section because they are part of the general topic of adornment.

● 824 PLANTS IN CRAFT AND FOLKLORE

Abies lasiocarpa

The needles were used as a deodorant and were packed with stored items, saddle pads, or burned in a household smudge.

Acer glabrum

[386] Small cases of the folded bark contained the grease which was mixed with
[415] ochre to make paint. A larger carrying case was made of the same material
and worn under the left arm.

Allium spp.

[237] A piece of hide was dipped in a decoction of Allium bulb and used to shine arrows. The bulbs were also rubbed on quivers as a deodorant.

Amelanchier alnifolia

[431] Favors were asked while presenting a gift of four of the berries. The
[524] receiver was obliged to return the goodwill. Girls played a game while
[222] harvesting the berries. After some berries had been gathered the girls would
sit together and hold their breath while another called out 'tops, tops,
tops' at a regular beat. Each girl put a berry in her bag for every call
and the one who held her breath the longest won all the other girls'
berries.

Anemone patens

[522] Because the plant acted as vessicant, pranks were played on unsuspecting
[514] people who would ask someone to fetch them some toilet paper. It worked
especially well at night.

Arctostaphylos uva-ursi

534 The dry berries were put in rattles (Fig. 33). They were preferred
[776] over stones because they were lighter and didn't make dust, a constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

● 824 534 problem during long ceremonies in which many rattles were used.

[796] The dry berries were strung on necklaces.

[301] This berry was the one used by the girl who escaped from the cannibal in the story of the Lost Children (Wissler, Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians, p. 128).

Artemisia campestris

[281] An infusion of the root was rubbed on a hide that was being tanned.

Artemisia frigida

For deodorant, saddles, (Fig. 34) womens' pillows, hide bags and quivers were stuffed with Artemisia frigida and A. ludoviciana.

[534] In the preparation of rattles, the skin was moulded around balls of the plant.

[237] [413] Paint applicators made from broken shoulder blades of buffalo or cattle were cleaned with A. frigida, then dipped in another color.

[751] Quantities of the plant were put on campfire coals and the smoke repelled mosquitoes.

[524] Children played a game of clubbing gophers unconcious and reviving them holding the crushed leaves to the animal's nostrils.

[281] Hides were treated with water in which the plant had been soaked or brewed.

Aster spp.

The various color forms of this genus were thought to be the effect of aging rather than indicative of taxonomic difference. The sequence went from white to blue and finally yellow.

[793] The Holy Woman of the Sun Dance wore a necklace of the yellow form.

[524] [857] Children rubbed the flowers on their bouncing arrows for color.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81]

● 824 Castilleja spp.

[524] Children rubbed the flowers on their bouncing arrows for color and shine.

[386] Arrow feathers were dyed a light yellow by combining them with the flowers and keeping them under pressure for a few hours.

[281] The flowers were used to shine and waterproof hides.

The color forms were considered the effect of age, the sequence moving from white to red to yellow.

824 Clematis verticellaris
775
755

The plant, a creeping vine, was called "ghost rope" because it covered trees and bushes in a mysterious way. The leaves were used in the removal of "ghost bullets" (supernatural objects that were shot into people by ghosts). The bullets were removed by a diviner either with a sucking tube or through a slit in the skin made by a flint. Then the leaves were [828] boiled and applied to the place where the bullets were removed. Fainting was often the result of coming near a ghost and the victim was revived with a smudge of the stem of this plant. At night, children wore the flowers in their hair to keep ghosts away.

824 Cornus stolonifera
773

According to a certain myth there was a time when the bark of this bush was white and not red. Naapi saw some gophers playing in the warm ashes of a campfire. They would bury each other in the ashes and when it got too hot they would cry out and the others would uncover them. Naapi joined the game and persuaded them all to get in the ashes. Only a pregnant gopher resisted and Naapi let her go, saying that she was necessary to propogate the species. Then he roasted the gophers and made a frame of cornus stolonifera which he used as a plate while he ate them. That was how the

824 [773] bark turned red and to this day the grease from the gophers drips from the branches when they are heated.

[276] When the usual wood could not be found, the stems of *C. stolonifera* were used to make pipestems and tamps.

Delphinium bicolor

[386] The flowers were mixed in water and used to dye quills a light blue.

Elaeagnus commutata

This bush obtained the name "excrement smell" from the story of Naapi and the Gophers. Naapi punished his anus for failing to guard his roasted gophers from a lynx by hitting it with a branch of this plant. From that time on the wood smelled like excrement when it was burned and those who used it for firewood were chided for being lazy.

In craft, the seeds were cleaned, boiled, threaded and hung to dry.
[301] Then they were greased and made into necklaces. Sometimes the seeds were
[524] interspaced with *Juniperus* berries. Also, the bark of the bush was braided and used to whip the stone tops which children spun on the ice during winter. These whips usually lasted longer than the rawhide ones.

Epilobium angustifolium

[281] The flowers were rubbed on rawhide thongs and mittens for waterproofing.

[751] During the winter the powdered inner cortex was put on the hands and face to protect them from the cold. It was especially useful when the hands were uncovered for skinning, etc. When the powder was used, the hands would not hurt when they warmed up again.

Equisetum arvense

[524] Children used the plant to shine their bouncing arrows.

[751] The powdered stems were put in moccasins to avoid foot cramps when traveling long distances.

● 824 237 Also, the stems[A] were crushed and combined with porcupine quills which had been quartered longitudinally. Both were stored under pressure in a moose bladder-bag until the quills turned a light pink.

824 [386] [237] *Evernia vulpina*

A yellow dye was produced from pieces of this lichen which was combined under pressure with porcupine quills.

"Fish-backbone"

[281] The root was immersed in water which was later used to soak a green hide. Then the hide was stored for tanning.

Gaillardia aristata

[281] [758] The flower heads were rubbed on rawhide bags for waterproofing. Also, the flowerheads were used to absorb soups and broth and served as spoons for the sick and invalid.

Glycyrrhiza lepidota

The burrs of this plant received the name "Takes-a-Woman-By-Force" because, like a man to a woman, they attach themselves so readily.

[753] [755] It was believed that ghosts shot their victims with parts of the burr, thereby inflicting disease. If the "mysterious bullet" was not extracted by a diviner the patient was sure to die or his face would contort and he would go dumb.

[271] Buffalo runners kept the burrs in the mouth to protect against thirst.

Heracleum lantum

[534] 524 824 The hollow stems of the plant were made into children's flutes. They also served as toy blowgun, with bullets furnished by choke-cherry pits. Schaeffer records a variation of the blowgun idea amongst the South Peigan. Children would cut off a section of the dry stem and plug one end with a

[A] ./The stems of *Equisetum arvense*--Analyst/

824 524 [401] flowerhead of "gumweed" (probably *Grindelia squarrosa*). The stem[A] was filled with water, the top end plugged in the same way and a stick was fitted into the bottom to afford a piston-like action for squirting the water out the far end. The child used his squirt-gun to kill crickets and such, after which he declared that he had "killed his meat".

[158] Infirm people would use the stems to suck soup and stew without raising up.

824 *Hierchloe odorata*

Saddles were packed with this grass (as well as sage) to keep them smelling good.

Juniperus spp.

[462] [237] Women collected quantities of the berry, inserted small sticks through them, and dried them. Then grease was poured over campfire coals and the [301] [237] [294] berries held in the thick smoke which turned them black. The berries were polished and strung on rawhide thongs for necklaces, wristlets, or clothing decorations. Sometimes they were interspersed with *Eleagnus* berries.

[281] Hides were yellowed in the smoke of the greased leaves.

"Kah-pook-see"

824 435 276 This wood was sought in the making of pipestems and was considered very valuable because it was obtained only after hazardous travel into the Big Horn River country. A horse and several blankets might be paid for a single piece suitable for one pipestem. Pipe tamps were made of the same wood.

824 *Lithospermum ruderale*

524 793 Children nicknamed this plant "holy turnip" and used the stems as headpieces in their play, probably mimicking the affairs of the Holy Woman who owned the Natoas Bundle.

A./The stem of *Heracleum lantum*--Analyst/

● 824 [281] *Lomatium triternatum*

Animal pelts which were used in bundles were stuffed with the fruits of this plant during the tanning process and that kept them from smelling.

[777] [237] A porcupine foot was stuffed with the fruits and tied on a young girl's hair as a good luck charm.

Lonicera involucrata

[262] The bush was named "bear eats them" because the berries were considered inedible by humans.

Lygodesmia juncea

[294] [281] (386) The stems, rich in latex, were crushed, put in a storage bag and later used as foot pads in moccasins. Also, newly tanned buffalo hides were ochred red with a mixture of the stem and ochre which actually waterproofed the hide.

Mammilaria vivipara

[522] Jokes were played on people by placing this cactus under covers, etc.

Monarda fistulosa

[758] The dry flowerheads were used by invalids for sucking broth and soup.

[281] Women used the dry flowerheads to apply water to a green hide which made it easier to scrape the hide with even strokes.

Osmorhiza occidentalis

Pieces of the root were kept in quivers and clothing as a deodorant.

[294] The stems were combined with ochre and the mixture applied to robes.

Oxytropus sericea

524 824 Children made headdresses with the stems, lined up (alternating boys and girls) and danced single-file to different spots while singing this song in unison: "there's nothing behind my back". The seeds would rattle

524 in their pods. Then the leader would suddenly stop and look behind him
824 while the others dropped to the ground. The leader struck whoever remained
[278] standing with a smoking stick which he carried. Then he took some of the
[752] seeds of the plant, chewed them and applied the mixture to the burn.
Shortly the irritation stopped and the game continued with changing leaders.

824 Perideridia gairdneri

[827] The plant was rubbed on arrows for shine and waterproofing. Buffalo runners chewed the roots to extend their endurance.

Phlox hoodii

[386] Apparently, a dye was obtained from this plant in the way as Evernia.

Pinus spp.

773
824 The origin of coniferous forests was told in the story of the woman who married a snake and later pursued her brothers who had killed the snake-being. While the boys were fleeing southward, one of them threw a porcupine tail which magically created a forest that sprang up as a barrier to the woman's detached head which rolled in hot pursuit. The woman had the special power of seeing through anything and soon spotted the boys on the other side of the forest. Meanwhile they prayed for the trees to have children and so replenish the barrier between them and certain death at the hands of the woman. The story continues with the creation of the mountains, etc.

824 Five variations of conifer were distinguished: "curly pine" (from the lichen growths on the branches of Pinus contorta), "mean pine" (also "sweet pine", Abies lasiocarpa), "tomato scent pine" (Thuja spp.), "red pine" (Pseudotsuga menziesii?), and "cedar pine" (Juniperus spp.?).

000 Travois and tipi poles were made from Pinus contorta while the young

824 Travois and tipi

335 poles were made from Pinus contorta while the young [804] trees furnished back-rest poles and bed supports. The back-rest poles were cut about five forearms in length and dried over a fire of rotten logs. One end of the pole was perforated and the other end sharpened. Then a [531] stick was inserted through the hole and the pole etched. Later it was [237] painted red and blue with buffalo shoulder-blade applicators. [211] Back-rest poles were often notched to record the number of camp moves.

802 538 237 824 Story-sticks were prepared by older men and presented to children in return for favors. The sticks were notched to count the number of stories that the man would tell the child. They were often varnished with a solution of boiled hoof and steer phallus and sometimes red ochre was added. Then the stick was polished with a piece of rawhide. Story-sticks were [342] sometimes used to hang tipi doors.

[824] Wind chimes were made and presented to newly married couples. Little sticks were also prepared and notched to act as fasteners on designated foot-storage bags.

[415] [237] Bowls were fashioned from pine burls (Fig. 35). The process was to apply grease to the burl, scrape with a rough stone, apply more grease and repeat the process until the bowl was finished. If grease was not used the bowl would crack.

[381] [314] [237] [294] The resin of Pinus contorta was boiled with buffalo phallus and used as a glue for headdresses and bows. It was also applied to moccasins for waterproofing.

824 278 Polyporus spp.

This fungus was often taken from the mountains (stolen occasionally from the Kooteney Indians) or detached from willows. Then it was scraped with a knife and attached to "Weasel-robes" when it could be used in emergency first-aid treatment. It was a styptic on wounds and boiled with Psoralea

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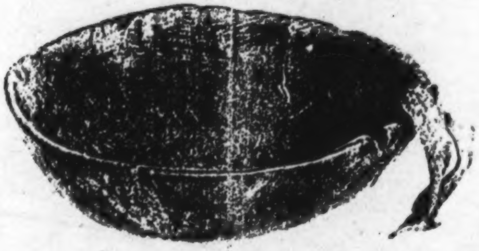

Fig. 35 — Ceremonial wood bowl of the Blood Indians. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Ethnology Department. Catalogue No. AF 441.

752 It was a styptic on wounds and boiled with Psoralea
824 esculenta to treat coughs. The infusion of the fungus was taken to stop
278 diarrhea and treat dysentery.
757

Populus tremuloides

534
824 Whistles were made by loosening the bark of a branch replacing it and blowing through it. Another type of whistle was made by blowing through the moistened leaves.

824 Potentilla anserina

[291] The runners of the plant were used to fix leggings in place. The leggings were tied above the knee and then folded over to the ankle, like a
[284] boot. Girls used the runners to tie blankets. Though the runners did not hold their strength long, they were easily replaced.

Potentilla fruticosa

The plant, a small bush, was called "deer seat" because the animals were often found resting in clearings where the plant was common.

[513] Pillows were sometimes filled with the leaves.

Prunus virginiana

[352]
[776] The straight branches were used in making back-rests (Fig. 36). The
[252] hard wood, which did not burn easily, was used in making incense tongs (Fig. 37) and roasting skewers.

Psoralea esculenta

[301] Pieces of the root were dried and attached to clothing and robes as ornamentation and medicine. Sometimes this root was scraped and used to replace the pieces of Polyporus which was attached to "Weasel-robes".

Ribes aureum

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522 The Sarsi Indians were a constant source of humor to the Blackfoot. Because they were Beaver Indians who were in the midst of adopting a plains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

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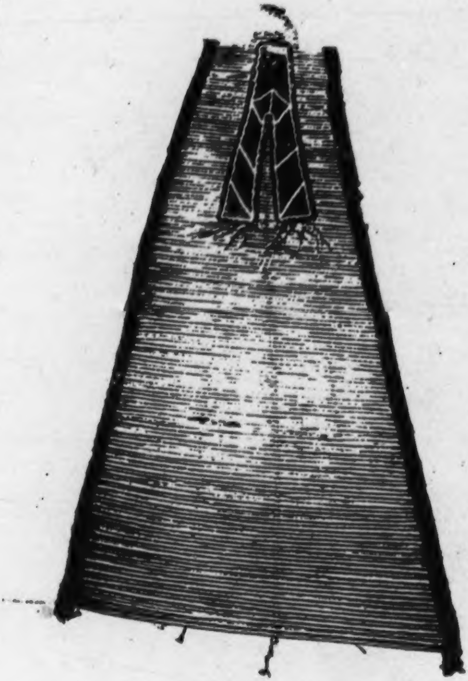

Fig. 36 — Blackfoot back rest or pillow. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

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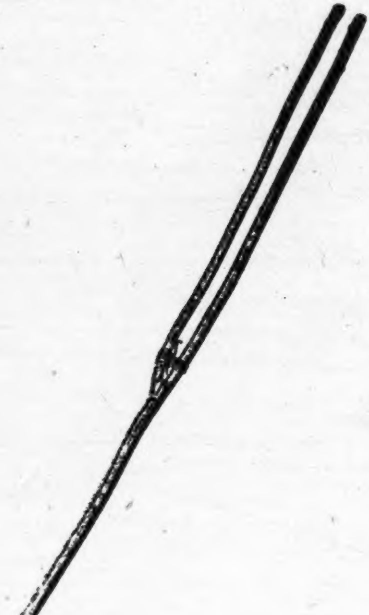

Fig. 37 -- Ceremonial incense tongs. North Peigan. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Ethnology Department. Catalogue No. AF 1308f.

186 522 mode, they were often considered awkward and clumsy. For example, it is said that they had to be taught to put ear-flaps on their lodges so that the smoke would be controlled.

824 This plant received the name, "Sarsi punctures-berry", because while the berries looked like the "real punctures-berry" (Ribes oxyacanthoides), they didn't taste as good and were considered "fakes".

524 824 Ribes oxyacanthoides

Children played a game with the berries of this bush. They sat in a circle and began counting to ten, each child counting one number around the circle. The tenth child would take five berries and eat them at once, trying his best not to show a bitter face. If he was successful, the child next to him would do the same and this would continue until one grimaced at the sour taste. He was then struck on the thigh with a knuckle-punch, thus giving the name "punctured-berry" to the plant. The child who never grimaced won all the others' berry supplies.

824 [262] Rubus parviflora

The berries were considered inedible and the plant named "bear-eats-them" to denote the fact.

[386] [281] The berries were used to dye tanned robes. They were smeared over a new hide and dried in the sun. Then they were scraped off and the hide polished until it shone.

The berry was applied to quivers to strengthen them.

Salix spp.

[534] A buzzing whistle was made by loosening the bark around a branch and blowing through it.

[352] [343] The boughs were cut and used in making back-rest slats and sweatlodge frames.

824 Spiraea densiflora

[413] The flowering stems were used as paint brushes, especially on the large spaces of tipis.

Thacictrum occidentalis

The fruits were kept as a household and clothing deodorant and were often crushed and mixed with paint for a robe, etc.

Thermopsis rhombifolia

[716] The flowering of this plant signaled the time when the sponsorers of the Holy Lodge were to begin collecting buffalo tongues in preparation for
[224] the Sun Dance. It was also the time when the buffalo were fat enough for good hunting.

[386] Arrow shafts were rubbed with the yellow petals for coloring.

Viola adunca

[386] Apparently, a blue dye was obtained from this plant which was used in dying arrows.

COSMETIC USES OF PLANTS

Abies lasiocarpa

302
824
314
[515] The resin of the tree was chewed for bad breath and pleasure. Some would chew the resin and spit it on their hands. An infusion of the needles was mixed with grease and applied as a hair tonic. The needles were kept for their fine odor. They were often packed in moccasins as a foot deodorant.

Artemisia campestris

An infusion of the root was used as a hair tonic, especially with
[278] children. It cleansed as well as treated scalp infections.

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824 [514] [515] *Artemisia frigida* and *ludoviciana*

Both sages were used as toilet paper; *frigida* was especially for children. *Ludoviciana* was often put in moccasins as a foot deodorant.

824 302 *Delphinium bicolor*

Women would shine and straighten their hair through the use of an infusion of this plant.

Gaillardia aristata

[515] A footwash was made from the infused flower heads.

Hierchloe odorata

[237] A hair tonic was made by mixing sweetgrass-water with the sticky substance of boiled hooves. Red ochre, used on clothing and directly on the body, was often mixed with sweetgrass-water to make it smell good.

Juniperus spp.

A footwash was made from the infusion of the plant. It was also used to sooth the face after whiskers were plucked.

Lygodesmia juncea

[237] An infusion of the stems was mixed with grease and applied as a hair tonic.

Osmorhiza occidentalis

[515] Women used the root as a feminine deodorant. Diapers were sweetened with an infusion of the root.

Salix spp.

Willow roots were dried and crushed, then soaked in water and grease. [278] The tonic was applied to the hair for dandruff and it made the hair sleek and straight.

17: Hellson & Gadd E,N-4,5 (1970-1973) 1974 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
125

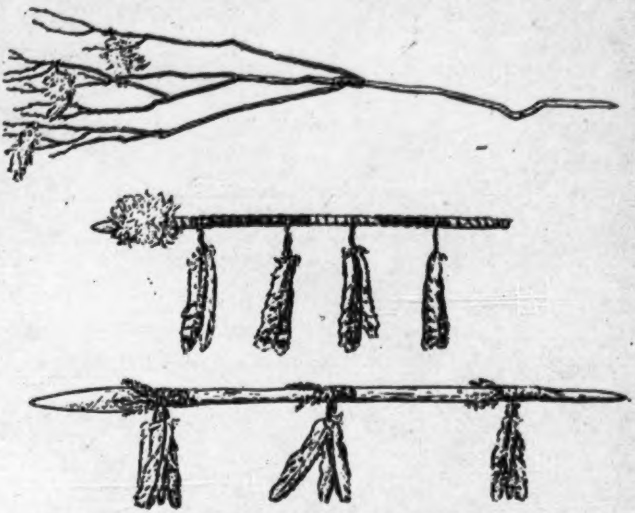
824
302 **Thalictrum occidentalis**

The fruits of the plant were powdered, mixed with water and used as a cosmetic on the hair and body. An infusion of the fruits was often mixed with ochre which gave it a sweet scent before it was applied to the body.

561 The leader carries a small bulb rattle, half painted red, half blue, a
575 feather attached to the end and a wristlet of otterskin. On the head he
796 wears a feather hanging down behind, painted red, the quill end wrapped
[534] with wire. He wears a buckskin suit with weasel or hair-lock fringes. The
right half of his face is painted blue, the left red; black bands around the
[237] wrists. He carries a short lance, Fig. 4.

[292] The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow

[302]
[411]
[531]



561
575
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Fig. 4 *a* (50-5582), *b* (50-5573), *c* (50-6161). Standards used by the Braves: *a* The Willow Brave's Staff; *b* Lance for the Leader; *c* Lance of the White Braves.

561 The one called willo brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow
575 branch to the ends of which are tied yellow painted plumes. (Fig. 4.)
796 His robe has no hair, but is fully tanned.

[824] The four white braves wear breech cloth and moccasins. Their bodies are painted white; under each eye four black marks and across the thighs,
[237] calves, and arms a pair of black marks. Around the ankles, neck, and head
[292] are wreaths of four sage stalks each. Their robes have no hair, have the corners fastened up and a curious hole in the back reminding one of the
[302] Arapaho crazy-dance regalia. Eagle feathers are carried only by the white braves, the braves proper using hawk feathers. All wear robes but when

they rise to dance they leave them at their seats. They carry lances, 561
painted white and decorated with four pairs of feathers and bunches of sage 575
grass. (Fig. 4.) The ordinary bone whistle with quill-wrapped neck cord 796
should be added.

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothing and are without [292]
regalia of any kind. Their functions are similar to those of the preceding [411]
societies and while they have no particular costume at the time of the cere-
mony, they use the painting of the lay members. [237]

Single men comrades vary in number from one to four and are taken in
as described in the preceding, both as substitute dancers and in order that [824]
food may be obtained.

The four black braves carry lances covered with black cloth and deco- [534]
rated with black feathers. Their bodies are painted black. Their cos- [411]
tume is similar to that of the preceding. On their backs they wear a bladder
or pericardium painted black and distended by air; this is called a water [302]
pail. [237]

The two bear braves are similar to a pair noted in the pigeon society.
They cut the front hair and paint it. The costume is also the same. Here,
they wear robes with the hair on. On the head, they tie a bunch of prairie- [237]
chicken feathers. They carry bows instead of lances (Fig. 5).

The braves wear neither shirts nor leggings. They paint with dark red [302]
paint with black marks, as noted for the white braves. Their lances are [292]
painted red. [411]

No drums are used by this society, but time is kept by beating upon one
piece of rawhide. According to one informant, the drummers are "ex- [533]
members in ordinary costume." [534]

In the ceremony an open circle is formed with the four drummers in the
center. The leader sits opposite the opening and facing him on the outside, 561
the two bear braves. The white braves sit on the outside. (Fig. 6.) When 575
at rest the braves stick their lances in the ground points down; the white 796
braves hold theirs with points up. The leader directs the dance. He blows 535
his whistle a certain way as a signal, then rises. All those bearing lances [534]
rise, dropping their robes. Leaning forward with the points of their lances
near the ground, they dance. The step is a slow alternate lifting of the
feet. The leader's position is fixed, the others dance facing the four direc-
tions. The white braves on the outside dance in with threatening lances
and crowd the braves toward the center, passing entirely round and round.
The black braves have black blankets which they wear during the dance,
but dance as the others. Willow brave dresses like the lay members but
sits next to the leader.

The two bear braves sit quietly as in the pigeons until aroused by the [237]

561
575 At the age of eighteen, Big-brave, joined his first society, the front-tails. As a
796 rule each society takes as members four young men and four older men. Big-brave
432 was taken in as one of the younger members. To begin with, all the men who were
to buy in, went through the camps and invited their chums and when all were gathered
[424] together, they proceeded to the center where two tipi covers were combined to
make one large tipi. Upon entering the lodge all the men who were about to become
[114] members had filled pipes, which they offered to those of the old members from whom
[115] they had chosen to buy. All the members of the front-tails are supposed to have
women partners, usually their wives; but as Big-brave did not have a wife, he went
[346] with his mother.

Each purchaser sat down near the man from whom he expected to purchase.
[237] The buyers cleared the grass in front of the old members and placed some buffalo
dung and sage grass on the side nearest the old members. The smudge place was
[824] about a foot square. All the new men made a smudge place near the old members.
Sweetgrass was used for the smudge. The knives or axes which were used in clearing
the smudge places were a part of the fee paid the old members.

The old (ex-)members did not transfer their outfits to the new members themselves,
but still older members did this. The pipes were offered first to the
members, to make the bargain to purchase from them.

Big-brave sat near one of the members and offered him a pipe to smoke. At first
he refused to take the pipe, but finally he took and smoked it. Big-brave thought
that the man was afraid he would not get a horse from him as he had just received
one the day before, therefore his hesitation. Then Big-brave made the smudge
[302] place and the transferrer asked him to remove his clothes. When he had done so,
the transferrer painted his face and entire body black and scratched the paint down
with his fingers. The mother's face was also painted. A streak of red was painted
across his eyes and mouth and small dots of white on his cheeks, forehead, and chin
and on all his joints. His new clothes were first passed over the smudge four times,
[292] and then given to him to put on. The transferrer then took up the otterskin which
is used as a garter strap, spat on it four times, passed it four times to the smudge
[237] place, and before tying it around Big-brave's leg, recounted four war deeds. The
[531] strap was a narrow strip of skin decorated with small bells and quill work.

During the entire ceremony, the transferrer had a piece of prairie turnip in his
[824] mouth, and before fastening anything on Big-brave spat four times on it. This is
the same kind of turnip as that used by the horns in their ceremony. It is said to
[778] be very sacred.

Then the transferrer took the feather which was used as a headdress, spat on it
[292] four times, made four passes over the smudge with it, recounted four more war deeds,
[237] and fastened it crosswise on Big-brave's head. The feather is an eagle tail-feather,
wrapped with colored quills and has a hole in the middle through which is passed a
[531] buckskin string with which the feather is fastened on the hair. Then he took the
belt of the front-tails, held it to the smudge place four times, spat on it four times,
told of four war deeds, made four passes with his knife and cut off a few inches of the
tail. After this he fastened the belt around Big-brave's waist and as he did so all
cheered him. The tail of the belt hung on the right side. A blanket was also given
him and a digging-stick was placed near Big-brave's feet. As he rose and stood by
it his foot was held by the transferrer and passed four times to the smudge; then he
stepped over the digging stick, going forward twice and backward twice. A dog was
brought in and placed before his feet and he stepped over it four times.

The men are stripped to their breech cloth and moccasins and painted all over 561
with red paint by their ceremonial fathers and transferrers.[1] In the meantime, the
wives of the fathers and sons exchange clothes behind curtains held up by the wives 575
of the transferrers. The son's wife is then brought forward and given two suits of 796
clothing, one for the son (her husband) and one for the transferrer; she also takes the 432
lance and other regalia for the son. She goes to the entrance to the enclosure and
waits. Then the transferrer rises and followed by the son, walks slowly in a stooped [302]
position, and on reaching her each kisses her and receives the clothing in turn. The
woman then takes the lance and other regalia to the rear of the enclosure where she
plants the former and hangs up the latter. Then she and the two men take their
seats, the latter dressing themselves in their new clothes. During all this the father
keeps his seat. Each son, his wife, and the transferrer go through the above procedure in turn.

At the same time the son's friends bring in horses, blankets, and other property to pay the father. Here also the transaction for each individual is separate. This accomplished, the whole body enters a large tipi previously set up inside the camp circle where they sit and sing the songs for the sons, or new members.

After a time they emerge and march entirely around the camp circle, sun-wise. The two riders now use their horses. Four times they pause and dance, the signal is given by the two horsemen riding back and forth in front of the column. Having made the circuit, they proceed to the center of the camp where the mounted bearer of the black lance invites some one to come forward and recount four deeds with the lance. If the members present cannot do this, an outsider must be called in. Then they dance once again; after which the women take the lances and headdresses and dance with them.

In all dances the man with the arrow on his headdress leads.

After a time a herald goes about the camp ordering everybody to keep close [203]
indoors, for the secret ceremony of the horns is to take place. The new members
gather in a large tipi "to be painted by their fathers." The fathers, or the old
members remain in their own tipis, but the transferrers meet with the sons. The wife
of a son is directed to undress and cover herself with a robe. A small pipe is filled [276]
with tobacco. (One was obtained among the Blood, Fig. 22.) The woman extends
her hands under the robe and holds the pipe horizontally with the bowl on her right
side. She goes out and enters the tipi of her husband's ceremonial father, sits down
at his left and offers him the pipe. He takes it, holds it up, and prays; then lights
it and smokes. When burnt out, he refills it and hands it back to the woman. (The
woman has been instructed as to her part.) The father then leaves the tipi with the
woman. Once outside they walk slowly abreast, but some six feet apart. The
father watches closely for if the woman stumbles, he must turn back at once, leaving
her to return to her husband. When the two are out some distance the woman
again hands the pipe to the father. Again, he takes it and prays, but does not
smoke. The woman then reclines on her back with her feet together. Vestem [831]
mulier ita plicat ut genitalia sola aperta suit.[A] The father places a piece of prairie-
turnip in his mouth and stands first at the woman's feet upon which he spits; then [824]
at her right, then at the head, and finally at the left. The woman lies as if dead.

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[1] In the transfer each individual sells to one other in the same fashion as with medicine bundles, Vol. 7, 272. The man selling out is the father to the purchaser, and there is a third man, or transferrer.

A. [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

Pater ad mulieris pedes iterum accedit flectitque super eam. Tunc, manibus 561
suis in humeros mulieris impositis, genua ad eius femora collocat et facit sic ut mem- 575
brum suum visile vulvam eius attingat: quo facto (ad pedes) surgit.^A
Now, the ceremony may end here at the option of the father. If not he goes again 796
to her feet. Primum in formam cornus digitum vir curvat: deinde, uno femore in 432
sinistram partem amoto, bisontis modo mugit; postremo, altero femore in dextram [831]
partem amoto mulierem futuere incipit.^B As he does so the father spits into the
woman's mouth with the piece of turnip in his own. The father then returns to his [833]
tipi, while the woman holding the pipe as before goes to the door of the meeting place.
There she stands until someone comes out to see who is there. When her name is [824] ●
announced, the transferrer and her husband go to the door. She then enters, being
careful not to touch the sides of the door. The transferrer kisses her, receiving the
turnip into his mouth. He also takes the pipe still filled. Then her husband kisses
her.

The transferrer asks if she has been properly painted, and she answers according to the completeness of the preceding ceremony. If the ceremony was complete, the pipe she carried is lighted and passed. The woman is put to bed, still covered with her robe, where she must lie quietly until the next day.

All the wives of members must go through with this during the same evening.

[276]

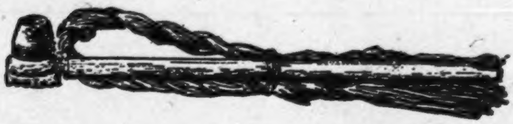

Fig. 22 (50-5401a). A Pipe used by a Blood Woman in the Transfer Ceremony, for the Horn Society. Length, 30 cm.

The next morning camp is moved. The women are taken up and placed upon
travois, the horses being led by their husbands. During all this time the women must [261]
fast and abstain from drink. They must be helped on and off the travois, etc. After
camp is pitched, the women each go to their fathers' tipis to be painted. He mixes [302]
up red and blue paints. The woman takes off her robe, but holds a corner over the pubes. The father smears her entire body with red paint. With the blue paint he marks a half moon on her breast. Then a circle on her back with either blue or yellow paint. On the crown of her head, he places some plumes. A blue circle is drawn around the face, a cross of the same on the left cheek and a dot on the right. (The men paint the same way.) A blue mark is made around each wrist and each ankle.

When painted the woman returns to her tipi, dresses, breaks her fast and resumes
her daily life. Should the father fail to complete the ceremony the woman's face is
painted differently. The left half is yellow and the right blue. On the yellow side [302]
is made a cross of blue, on the right a dot of yellow. Around the left wrist and ankle
is a yellow band, around the right a blue band. Thus all may know by the painting.

After this the father prays over some pemmican mixed with back fat and berries [252]
and gives it to the woman. She takes it home and distributes it to her relatives.

The mounted bearer of the white lance seems to be under obligations to complete
the ceremony. Mulier cum viro egreditur. Velut antea, sic mulier nunc decumbit; [833]

A, B.[See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst] takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, 561 he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the 575 meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like 796 scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name 432 of the husband after which the woman enters and spits [784] the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She then squats over a smudge.

Some of the women are refused by the fathers, [558] because they themselves are not of good repute or because their husbands are not worthy men. In any case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his wife properly painted. 561

Our informant never went through this painting 575 ceremony. 796 Some time after joining, a woman came one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying that she came to be painted. 531 He told her that he could not because 237 he had not received the necessary instructions. 532 She then returned to her husband, who sent her to another man. →

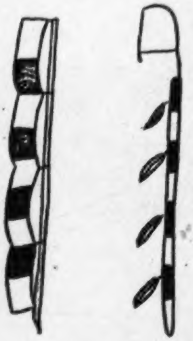

Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. *a* A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; *b* Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant.

The writer has a statement from Strangling-wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint 561 the entire body red. 575 Some wear plumes at the backs of the head, others wear war-bonnets of 796 several different forms. [292] The lances, however, are the main objects. [302] They are usually made of pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's lance is five hands longer. [237] The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, [824]● because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These [782] are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19).A These are provided by certain men and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are [782] offered and some tobacco left at the stump.[1] The whole camp must keep very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, [531] after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

---

[1] Flat-tail, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed [784] the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox.

A. [See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

794 through the same performance. While dancing they all sing and some carry bells to
796 keep time. Others hold both hands on their breasts as in the stick game. No
drums are used. It is thought that the more the dancers exert themselves during
535 the dance the better will be the result of their prayers.

[534] Some members have hypnotic power. The prayers are for food, success in all
undertakings, and protection against death. They pray to those who have given
[928] them power or songs in their dreams.

[789] The origin of the dance is given in the following:—

794 A man had been ill for a long time and was not expected to recover. One time,
173 while still ill, those around him heard him try to sing and raise himself. He supported
787 himself on a post, meanwhile humming. Then he returned to his bed, and
said, "I have had a dream. A deer came to me and said, 'I have come to help you. I have taken pity on you. You see yonder hill. I will lead you to the top of it. Hold my windpipe, but if you pull my windpipe in two before we reach the top, you will die. If not, you will get well.' We went up the hill very slowly. When we reached the top, the deer said, 'There are four deer on yonder ridge which I will give you. When you kill them take out the windpipe and lungs of one of them as you see mine now. Be careful and do not cut them in two. Take them home and cook them and give a dance and eat them and you will be well.' That is why I got out of bed and held on to the post. I thought it was the deer." Then he said to the two men, "Go to yonder ridge and kill the four deer there. Butcher one of them as I was told in the dream and bring it to me." They returned with the deer. That night they held a dance, the black-tailed deer dance.

794 Before hunting, a deer dance is held, so they may dream where the game
[224] will be found. Sometimes the leader dances, holding a post with both
hands with bells, deer hoofs or claws in one hand, and a handkerchief or skin
[789] in the other. Anyone who believes in the dance may join whether he has
[796] songs or not. Some of the regalia for the dance are: rabbit ears, deer
claws and hoofs, feathers, plumes, mink skins, otterskins, sleigh bells, and
[237] deer tails, also weasel skins, owl and other feathers. Juniper is more frequently
[824] used for the smudge than sweetgrass. The members paint in
[302] red or yellow with a stripe across the forehead and one across the chin.

Some members have power to give ill luck and to charm game. When
794 game is killed by the members, they must not cut into the windpipe, nor give
789 the heart to the dogs. The head of deer must not be used by anyone as food,
224 nor must children be allowed to play with it or the hoofs. The reason that
[784] these taboos must be kept is that the member may be able to charm game.
When they wish to go out to hunt, they set up a stick covered with cloth about twelve inches long at the rear of the tipi and make a smudge of juniper back of it. The men sing, but must not pass between the stick and the fireplace.

794 ghosts to the place and said, "Let us all have a dance for four nights and restore this
769 man's life to him." They agreed, and after four nights, the man came to life again
and saw the ghosts, how they painted their faces, and how they dressed. One of
773 the ghosts said to him, "We will give you this dance. When anyone is sick or about
173 to die, have a dance, and he will recover." The man returned to his home. After
539 some time someone was very ill. This man gave the ghost dance, and taught it to
the people.

794 The dancers paint to represent skeletons, so it is said. The face and
769 exposed parts of the body are painted white, while around the mouth and
302 each eye is a bold circle of black or red. The effect is quite hideous.

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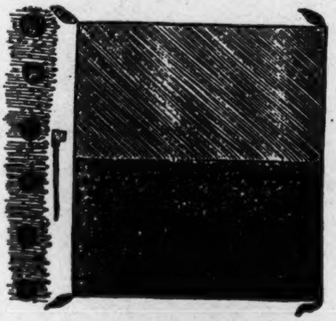

Fig. 28. Smudge Altar for the Ghost Dance. Drawn by Big-brave. The altar is about one foot square, the north half red, the south half black. Red and black plumes respectively are stuck up at the corners. At the west is a row of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Between these and the altar lies the pipe used in the ceremony. Sweetgrass is used on the altar and the tongs should lie on the north side.

794 There are no particular regalia except a plume on the head, nor are there
769 any bundles. The ceremony has, however, its own peculiar ritual and
[292] songs. Women dance with the men.

[796] A dance rarely occurs unless some man makes a vow or formal pledge to
provide a feast and dance for the dead in return for some expected or realized
794 good fortune. At the ceremony his wife sits near the door and takes the
769 name of Yellow-woman. She paints her hair yellow and her face red with a
796 yellow band across the forehead. On her head, she wears a plume. A great
535 abundance of food is expected.

[789] The smudge altar is a large oval with the incense hearth at one end.
At the other is placed a small pipe and four plumes. According to Big-
[302] brave the altar was square, Fig. 28. One member is delegated to attend to
[779]

778 conferred. This makes the stick game set a bundle and it has already
524 changed hands several times. At the transfer a horse and some clothing
[422] are given. (As a rule, the regular stick game sets were given to the person
winning four straight games.) The new owner's face is painted red, but
[432] in the game the players paint red crosses on the face. The songs used in
[302] the game and the special songs of the ritual are also transferred. Though
[424] the set is kept in a bundle, it seems possible to open it at any time and
[784] without the ceremony. The owner is subject to no taboos but menstruating
women must not go near the game. There must be no flirting among those
present and the players must not cheat or members of their families will die.

The following is Eagle-child's account:—

778 In 1909 Big-spring bought the stick game dance bundle from a Gros Ventre. It
524 contains twenty sticks with magpie feathers and four small plumes on the end of
each. The sticks were about fourteen inches long and half an inch in diameter and
237 were painted red. Small bells are also attached to the end of one of the feathers.
531 There are two guessing sticks about fourteen inches long with eagle feathers and a
few plumes and bells on their ends. These sticks are also painted red. There are
four bones or hiding sticks two of which were blue and two white. There is a small
wheel-like object about two and one half inches in diameter resembling the wheel
[824] used in the arrow game. This is worn by the guesser. Sweetgrass is used for the
smudge. The only difference between the two guessing sticks and the others is that
the former have eagle feathers instead of magpie feathers.

796 The stick game dance or ceremony is regarded as a powerful medicine. In it
524 prayers are offered to God only and not to the stars, moon, sun, and other Blackfoot
deities. In case of sickness the head of the family may make a vow to provide a
[778] feast for the owner of the stick game bundle if the sick one recover. Then some time
after the recovery he invites everybody, old and young, to the feast. The ceremonies
[782] are held at night though the ordinary stick game can be played at anytime. When
all have assembled, the owner of the bundle takes his place at the back of the tipi or
[755] house and makes a smudge with sweetgrass. Then he opens the bundle and takes
out the contents. He then selects or calls for a woman to act as the guesser for one
[302] side to whom he gives ten of the sticks and one of the guessing sticks. He then
prays for the guesser, paints her face on the forehead, cheeks, chin, and palms with a
red cross. Then he selects or calls for a man who comes forward and is fitted out in
the same manner as the woman. These two become the leaders for the opposing
[533] sides. All this time the singers and drummers are rendering the songs used in the
game and those connected with the bundle.

All the persons present, men, women, and children, may take part in the game, sometimes as many as forty or fifty take part. The two players then choose their sides by passing their sticks, giving one to each person. The woman also hands out two of the hiding sticks to one of her side and the other to another. The man does the same on his side. The woman lines up her players on the right, the man his on the left. The woman ties the wheel ornament on her hair and play begins and continues until one side has all the sticks. Every time a game is completed, the winners rise and dance, making a great deal of noise while the losing side keep their seats. Every time a side loses a game, a new guesser is chosen in his place. The rule is that

294 yoke which covered the shoulders. They were then elaborately
291 decorated with strips of weasel skin and with patterns painted
on or worked with dyed strips of the quills of porcupines and
[531] birds. On journeys and in cold weather leggings of soft hide
suspended from a waist belt were also worn.

The Tipi The cover of the conical tent or tipi was also made of soft
342 buffalo hides. When spread out on the ground it formed an
237 approximate semicircle, which for an ordinary tipi of later
times had a radius of thirteen to eighteen feet and required
rather more than a dozen skins. The designing of a cover was
skilled work, and its sewing with sinew and a bone bodkin
461 was laborious. When a new one was required the woman
423 gathered a store of food and invited a large group of friends
and relatives to share in the work, for the tipi was the woman's
property, first given her by her family on marriage and always
342 erected by her. The frame was of pine or spruce poles obtained
●[824] in the foothills. Four poles, tied together near the tops with
sinew in a secure tipi knot, were first set up in a pyramid. Half
[284] a dozen more were then set between these to form a circle.
The last pole was securely lashed at several points to the centre
line of the hide cover, which was then raised in position at the
rear of the frame, and drawn round from either side to be
pinned together down the front. The poles were then adjusted
until the cover was drawn tight all round and finally pegged
down to the ground, or weighted with stones. Two projecting
[354] tongues of the cover now hung limply down at the top. Through
holes or in pockets in these the ends of two longer poles were
thrust so that the flaps stood out as 'ears' which could, by

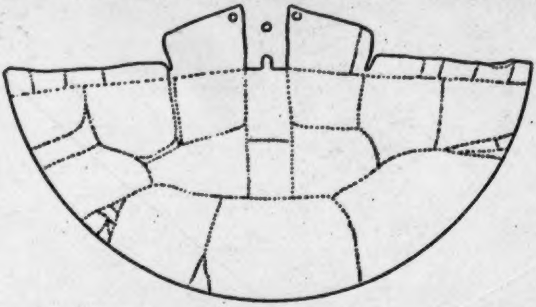

FIG. 19. PATTERN OF A SKIN TIPI COVER
(After Wissler)

793 796 425 Three times I put up a lodge for White-Shield Woman. I initiated her each time, and she wore my Natoas headdress, from the sacred bundle that hangs over my bed. Twice my sister transferred the sacred ceremony and twice I transferred it on my own, and once I transferred with my brother as a partner. That was after my husband died. Of course, while he was living he was my partner for the Sun Dances. Twice I have transferred the ceremony with Mrs. Many-Guns, both times to women of the South Piegans, in Montana [the Blackfeet]. I have transferred it three more times just in the past couple of years, and I may transfer it again in the future, if someone makes the vow.

● 824 Some of my grandchildren say that they don't like the smell of my sweet pine incense. They tell me: "Why did you put sweet pine among our clothes? They smell strange and holy." I guess other kids in school make fun of them, although we 303 were proud to smell that way when we were youngsters. In those days we used sweet pine as a perfume. Those are the same sweet pine needles that we use to make incense for medicine pipe bundles. We also make a perfume from flowers called Gros-Ventre Scent, because they are favorites of the Gros Ventre Indians. We used to crush those flowers and mix them with sweet pine needles and some bits of cottonwood punk, and we made a really fragrant perfume that we tied up 302 in little bags. My husband used to perfume his pillow and the things he slept in. When he died I put a lot of this perfume in his coffin and in his blanket that he was wrapped in. Now, sometimes when we are sitting around at home, we get whiffs of that perfume from out of nowhere. I always tell my grandchildren: "That must be him coming around me."

One time I went to mourn for one of my relatives that had died. My children brought me to the relative's home, and some other grandchildren took me home later. On the way home the girls said: "Let's put some perfume on our grandmother," and they started putting store perfume on me. I thought to myself:

353 bundles, in the morning, or when they brought the bundles
778 back inside, before dark. On nice days the bundles were hung
from wooden tripods, out behind the tipi. They kept a special
forked stick beside this altar, and they used it to pick the glow-
788 ing coals out of the fire for making their incense on. They used
● 824 sweetgrass for incense, and they always had several green
braids of it on hand. Medicine pipe people use sweet pine for
incense instead. Sometimes my grandfather made incense with
sweet pine, because he was a leader of medicine pipe ceremonies. Generally it was my grandmother who made the incense in their tipi.

MY GRANDMOTHER'S COOKING

252 My grandmother did all her cooking over open fires. On
very hot days she liked to make her fires right outside the tipi
and cook over them. Usually she cooked inside her tipi. She
had a piece of chain hanging down from the big wooden tripod that stood over the fire. There was a hook on the end of
[415] the chain and that's where she hung her cast-iron kettles. She
had several kettles, including those from the Hudson's Bay Company, that held about a gallon and a half of water, or maybe two gallons. They were the first kind of kettles that Blood women got, way back a hundred years or more. She hung the kettle of water right over the open fire.

The first thing she made was tea. While the water was getting ready to boil she would get her flour ready to make bannock bread, which was a main item on her menus. She would knead up a nice batch of dough, enough for about three pieces of bread. By then the water was boiling. She took it off the fire and she made her tea. Then she put potatoes and dried meat into the rest of the water and hung it back up over the fire. Every once in a while she would put on more wood to keep the fire going good.

When she was ready to start making the bannock she would

585 to get mad at her because she would sneak bread into their bed and leave crumbs all over the inside of it at night.

178 Today a young girl would laugh if her parents told her whom she had to marry. She would probably fight her brothers if they told her how to dress and behave. The law would be after those brothers real fast if they cut off her nose as punishment for bringing the family disgrace by being loose in public. And I wonder how many young men would be able to come up with enough horses and other goods to satisfy the parents of a potential good bride. Yet these are the customs that my grandmothers knew and lived by until just a few years ago.

ON PREVENTING CHILDBIRTH

842 One thing that many young women like to find out about my grandmothers' ways is how they kept from having children; what were their natural birth control methods. Tribal history and family records show us that childbirth was not much controlled in the old days. Some people were unable to have children, including several very famous men of the past. But among all the rest of the people it was common to see eight, ten, or twelve children in every household. As you know, nature regulates childbirth by age, health, food supply, and so on. Our people were usually content with that. Keep in mind that the old life was hard and dangerous, and infant mortality often ran high. Also there was lots of land and generally lots of food for all that could manage to live.

[847] I have heard about some plants and herbs that were used
to prevent childbirth. Often they caused a pregnancy to be
[824] terminated, rather than keeping one from happening. The
759 men and women who administered these things were powerful people who had a lot of knowledge to go with their herbal
medicines. I don't know anybody like this that is still living.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
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Blood

I myself have never been treated by such a person for such a matter. So I won't be able to say any more about it. 84]

There was another way of preventing childbirth that I will mention just for your interest. My grandmothers have told me that the kind of spiritual powers needed to make this way work are no longer existing today. The last of the people who were involved in these traditions are about gone. 842 178

This other way did not usually involve herbs, just strong faith in the powers of certain spirits. The ones who had these powers would make up symbols of snakes or butterflies, which were considered powerful in childbirth. These were given to women who wanted no children. They had to wear them all the time, next to their bodies. For instance, snakes were made from buckskin, stuffed, and worn like a belt. The stuffings were of special materials, and the snake bodies were specially covered with beadwork and sacred paints. Often the women were instructed to stand over a smudge of special incense, so that the smoke could rise up their bodies. They had to do this every night for as long as they wanted no more children. 842 789 [825]

I heard of one man who lived long ago with famous powers dealing with childbirth. He would make a stick-figure drawing of a man on a certain woman's blanket, and she would have no more children. If she changed her mind and wanted children, he would just sit on her blanket for a while, to change the magic.

WOMEN'S SAGE
(Artemisia Frigida)

One plant in the world of Blackfoot botany was left practically for the exclusive use of the women. For that reason it was called women's sage. A companion plant was called man's sage, because it was used mainly by men. Both kinds 824

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
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824 grow all over the prairies, together and apart. The women's sage has smaller leaves and many more seed pods than the man's sage, which grows more bushy. They both have gray-colored leaves and a bitter taste.

824 757 Women used this sage for all kinds of things, internal and external. As a brew it was given for colds and chest problems, as well as other ailments. Many of these practices were taught to individual women doctors in their dreams and visions.

824 [752] [302] [841] [514] They used this sage as a poultice for cuts and bloody noses. They used it as a padding inside their moccasins, for smelly feet, or under their armpits for a deodorant. They used to pick the leaves and make them into a pad during menstruation. The pads not only absorbed the blood but they also served as medication to keep the skin from getting raw. Bunches of this sage were commonly used for toilet wiping.

PREPARING FOOD

262 With all the new foods that civilization has brought, the Indian people don't eat nearly as healthily as they used to. But one thing still remains the same: the staple Indian diet is meat, along with some kind of root vegetable. In the old days that was wild meat, mostly buffalo, and wild roots like camas and turnips. Nowadays the meat comes mostly from the butcher shop and the vegetables from the grocery store. Unfortunately, the children take most readily to all the other junk food that is so available today. This food is so sweet and easy to eat that some children don't even like meat and vegetables anymore.

I grew up with the taste of wild meat, cooked intestines, and berry soups. I still consider them favorite foods. I never did know of a Blackfoot Indian who was a vegetarian. But I have learned about modern foods and how to pick the good [872] ones from the bad ones. Even at the boarding school they

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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After we finished our smoke, SikskiAki took 778
the incense tongs—a forked serviceberry branch—
from their place next to the altar. Between the 782
burnt, pointed ends, she picked up a small glowing [824]●
coal from the fire. Carefully, she carried the
coal and placed it in the middle of the altar. [412]
From a little buckskin pouch she took a pinch of the sweet pine needles that are the sacred incense for our Bundle. Lifting them up high to symbolize the Holy Power of the Universe, she then slowly lowered the needles and let them fall onto the glowing coal. As the pine needles made contact with the coal, a spiral of smoke rose upward, its sweet fragrance filling our lodge with goodness and holiness.

Earlier, before Sun went down over the 778
mountains, SikskiAki had brought in our ancient
Medicine Pipe Bundle. The Bundle, which hung 783
from a tripod, was covered with a fringed shawl. As the smoke rose up under the shawl and caressed the Bundle, we breathed deeply of the sweet smell and bathed ourselves, rubbing the smoke between the palms of our hands and then brushing our hands downward from the tops of our heads to the ends of our toes. Our Old People taught us this way of symbolically removing the evil from our minds and bodies with the Power of the Good represented by the sacred incense smoke. I prayed:

HiYo sacred smoke! HiYo Good Spirits of the 782
Universe! Hear me! Let us take your Holy Power into our minds and into our bodies, so that your Holy Power will help us to be good. HiYo holy Pipe and all of you Good Spirits who are with our holy Pipe! Give us your strength and Power, as you have given it to the many good People in the past who had you with them while they followed their holy Ways. Inspire us to think of your Holy Power all of the time, you Good Spirits, so that we may learn to be holy, ourselves, so that we may be able to inspire others with your Holy Power and with these holy Ways. Be the center of our

[p. 7-A]

during these midsummer nights this far north on 512
the plains.

While I combed and braided my hair, Sikski- 788
Aki lit a small fire of cottonwood twigs so that we 512
could have a coal for our morning smudge of in-
cense. With the forked stick, she picked up a [372]
piece of one of the twigs and placed it in the
center of our altar. She sprinkled a few sweet pine [824]
needles on the coal, but sparingly, for the trees [778]
that give us this holy incense are usually found
only in remote and scattered mountain places. A
little spiral of smoke again marked the place where
the hot coal and the dry pine needles met. The 782
pungent odor brought the Good Spirits to us 512
through our sense of smell. With our hands held
in the smoke we again took the Spirit, brought it
to us, and accepted it into our minds and bodies
by rubbing ourselves from head to toe. We prayed:

HiYo Good Spirits who are here with us! You who make up everything that is Good and holy! Let us take your Holy Power and use it well. Let us be thankful for being aware of the goodness of your presence. . . . Let us think of your goodness as we go through this day, so that this day will be good for us. HiYo Natosi, our sacred Sun above! Help us to see the goodness along our paths. Let us be thankful for being able to see you again this day. Let us feel your warmth in our bodies, Natosi, and let us reflect your warmth in our food and in our homes, so that our families may be healthy. HiYo Earth, our holy Mother! Let us feel your strength beneath our feet as we walk upon you this day. Let us be strong and safe as long as we remain close to your body . . . all of you Good Spirits! Let us go through this day with respect and holy thoughts, and let us learn from our mistakes and trials, so that we may end this day with happiness. HiYo! Hear me!

□

After we finished praying, SikskiAki took our 778
sacred Bundle outside and fastened it over our 512

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796
793
237
● 824
534
292

Wolf Old Man as head Weather Dancer during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies. He is holding an eaglewing fan and sprigs of Creeping Juniper, the Sun Dance incense. He is blowing on an eagle bone whistle to keep time to his dancing and the drumming and singing. (Glenbow Archives)

[p.14-B]

the outside of the main bundle or slung over the 493
horse's back. Sacred Bundles were carried only on 492
a special horse and travois. Usually no one but the
Bundle's Owner could ride such a horse. Nor was [778]
that horse used to carry meat. This was to keep
the Spirit of the animal pure and clean for its [784]
holy duties.

The seven vowing Okan women and their 796
families were among the first to arrive at the 346
camp circle. They pitched their tipis closer to the
center of the circle than the others. Cottonwood [361]
boughs were piled up outside against the base of [824]
their tipis. In this way people would know that
these tipis were sitting holy and should not be
disturbed. The green leaves hiding the bottoms of
the tipis of these holy women served as spiritual
guards for those who were within. Children were
taught not to play nearby, lest they disturb the
holy thoughts inside.

Dried tongue is the meal of communion dur- 796
ing the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred 262
tongues must be dried and prepared beforehand 251
in the spring so that everyone in the camp can
share in this communion. The tongues, symbols [776]
of the natural foods of the buffalo as well as the
main foods of our People, represent the Spirits of
buffalo.

Traditionally, buffalo tongues were brought
to the vowing holy woman by generous hunters.
With the help of her family, she dried and stored [793]
them in preparation for the holy ceremony. But by [178]
1892, beef had replaced buffalo in the diets of our
People, so beef tongues were used instead. (The 136
last buffalo killed by our People—around the year

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24A]

[p. 23-A]

1884—was a lone bull who was found in one of 136
the prairie coulees.)

When the camp circle was filled with enough 796
people to represent the Spirit of the tribe, the Okan women gave word to move the camp. After a short ride, the camp was set up again. Three times the camp was moved this way. On the fourth day, the final move was made to a site where the Medicine Lodge was to be built. In 1892 the seven holy women and their parties used four tipis for their preparatory ceremonies. One of these tipis belonged to the family of Big Wolf, whose wife was one of the vowing women.

The men who took part in the preparations 343
for the Medicine Lodge ceremony were purified 346
by sweat baths several times, beginning on the
day before the final move to the Medicine Lodge [783]
site. The sweat houses were built by the members [796]
of four different men's societies. Each society
built one sweat house whose frames were con- [924]
structed of one hundred long, straight willows.
The members of each society went out into the
woods to collect the willows. When they re- [533]
turned, they rode together as a group, holding the branches in their hands and singing an ancient song, in imitation of a victorious war party returning home with trophies. All the People came out of their tipis to witness the event.

The four sweat lodges were built a short dis- [361]
tance outside the camp circle, near the holy women's tipis. Older men supervised the construction of the lodges. Half the willows were stuck into the ground on the south side of the
lodge. These were painted with red earth, rep- [822]
resenting the Power of the warm summers. The rest of them were placed on the north side and were covered with black paint, representing the Power of the winters. Wider spaces were left on the east and west sides, for entering and leaving, breaking the otherwise complete willow circle. Opposing willows were bent toward the center and intertwined with each other, forming a basketlike frame. Over this frame, fur robes,

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Wilson observed in his notes: 796
346

> *That morning as I neared the camp I saw* 782
> *that most of the lodges had sacrifices or offerings of some garment or blanket elevated upon an extra lodge-pole leaning against the lodge; these were tied to cross sticks. . . . At each of the four lodges occupied by the O-Kon people an extension rite was, in the forenoon, begun.*

Wilson did not often explain the spiritual meanings of the details of ceremonies he recorded. For instance, the customary purpose of an offering is to give every family an opportunity to participate in building the sacred lodge. A gift of fabric, fastened to a small frame, is presented to the holy people, who are acting in behalf of the Spirits, just before the main construction of the
lodge takes place. The frame is made by tying two [824] ●
scraped willow sticks in the shape of a cross, representing the Four Holy Directions of the Universe. Bunches of sage tied to the cross represent the gifts obtained from our Mother Earth. The cloth is added to share our material wealth with the Holy Powers. Each family hangs its offering above its tipi early in the morning so that the Spirits of Sun and the Universe can see where it came from. The family members, observing their offering in this way, derive spiritual pride for their part in the proceedings.

On the day the Center Pole is raised, the 793
holy women end their fasting and praying, and 796
the former holy women (or woman) transfer
their sacred Bundles to the new holy women. In 778
1892, the seven transfers were conducted simultaneously in the four main tipis.

The holy woman's sacred Bundle is called the
Natoas. It is kept in a cylindrical rawhide case [415]
decorated with painted designs and long fringes.
On the outside of the rawhide case the sacred [412]
digging stick is fastened, the same kind of stick
our women used to dig edible roots like camas.
During the transfer ceremony, a set of dried [237]

[p.25-B]

that when their canvas was joined a double lodge 796
was formed. At back end of the lodge proper, 793
sitting in a row, were the old and new O-Kon
women and the master of ceremonies [Wilson [346]
means the holy women and the priest]; also the
husbands of the women about to be initiated. In 796
middle of lodge a hole had been dug 2½ by 3 feet 778
square and 4 inches deep; the sod taken from it
was piled around three sides and covered with [824]
pine boughs [actually, boughs of creeping juniper
—a species commonly found in our country; it
grows close to the earth and is the sacred incense
for Medicine Lodge ceremonies]. Bottom of hole [531]
was covered with white clay in which had been
drawn, an inch deep, this design [showing the
main symbols of the Universe]; the bottom of all
the marks was painted black by sprinkling in
them black paint, the edges yellow. A cottonwood [824]
tree was planted in ground to the left of hole.
Tree 7 or 8 feet high. Upon the tree were hanging
the head dresses to be disposed of.

The hole Wilson describes was the incense 796
alter, representing our Mother Earth. The designs 778
indicated Moon, in the shape of a crescent; Sun; 531
Morning Star; and Sun Dogs. The black paint was [822]
for Night Sky, the yellow paint for the Powers [824]
represented. The small cottonwood tree stood as a [372]
symbol of the Old People's main source of firewood,
without which they would have perished.
In the midst of these spiritual symbols, the sacred headdresses were hung. In addition, the leader of the sacred ceremonies regularly made incense on the altar, for its sweet smell symbolized the presence of the Holy Spirits.

Wilson continues:

Seven men rattled and sang, and the three 796
old O-Kon women took each a root digger, and 793
leaning upon them, dance upon their knees, rattling
against the stick each a bundle of buffalo [533]
toes [moose hooves], and at end of the song tied [535]
the toes to the stick securely and in next songs [237]

mounted men and women accompanying them. 796
All had wreaths of green leaves upon their heads [292]
and were singing the same song referred to before.
The pole, a large cottonwood tree, was brought [924] ●
on a wagon followed by many travoix loaded with
boughs. The procession came around the back of
the shelter and stopped at front of the medicine
lodge, where they unloaded the pole, as related.

The Center Pole was unloaded from its 796
wagon inside the unfinished Medicine Lodge. Its 346
butt end rested on the ground near the hole it 291
was to go in; its forked end was propped up in the
air so that it could be lifted easily later. But before
that, the ceremony known as "cutting the
hide" had to be performed. The green, or raw,
beef hide mentioned earlier was cut round and
round into a long, narrow strip. This strip was in
turn cut into lengths for tying together the poles
of the Medicine Lodge. Since these strips were to
hold up the Temple of the Holy Spirits, a strong
man was needed to ensure that the hide was
properly cut. In the long-ago days, the hide-cutter [555]
was a man known to have performed at least four
brave deeds. Recently, an old man who had committed
such deeds came forward and recounted
them while holding up the hand of the hide-cutter.
After this, a former hide-cutter painted his
successor and prayed for him.

Roached Mane, who had been hide-cutter at
the Okan previous to 1892, sat before the uncut
hide, waiting for someone to come forward and
accept the duty from him. Members of the Horns
Society approached him and began singing and [555]
dancing, while "one of their members, Old Bull
Horn, counted 4 coups." The coups represented
brave deeds such as touching an enemy, stealing a
horse or weapon, or taking a scalp.

A,[i.e., members of the Horns Society--Analyst]

[P.31-A]

end of this prayer, they jumped down and the 796
circle of young men closed in amid deafening yells 346
and attacked the centre pole with their poles. Each pair worked together. Placing the connecting cord against the pole, most of them pushing from the under side, they soon had it upright in its hole, being assisted at first by some other men who put their shoulders to it. Next they attacked the rafters which were lifted up. The butt end of one of them was placed upon the centre of each stringer and all the small ends bearing offerings were resting in the fork of the centre pole. The butts were tied in place with raw hide, the whole being completed in a very short time to the satisfaction of the Indians, who consider the completion of the lodge a cause for joy.

The vows of the holy women were completed 796
once the Center Pole was up. Having made their 793
sacrifice to help build the Medicine Lodge, they returned to their tipis and removed their sacred outfits. Their husbands entered a sweat lodge where the husbands of the former holy women ceremonially wiped the black paint from their "sons" with handfuls of sage. The sacred objects used by the men were passed outside during the sweat bathing. After all the holy people had returned to their own lodges, the former Owners of the Natoas Bundles showed the new Owners how to pack up the sacred articles, and gave them final instructions for everyday care. By this time it was probably dark, since the Center Pole is usually raised as Sun sets. Relatives of the holy people brought food, since the period of fasting was over.

On the following day most of the young 796
people and many adults were busy in the fore- 346
noon bringing the cottonwood boughs, with
which to cover the sides of the sacred lodge. For 4 [824]
or 5 hours previous to 1 o'clock, mounted processions continually were arriving in camp, singing, shooting and shouting. The women formed a considerable proportion of these, many having travoix attached to their horses, loaded with

boughs. At 1 p.m. the Lodge was quite completed 796
and quietness reigned in the camp, broken only 346
by the occasional shouting of some chief calling [203]
guests to a feast, or a caller assembling the members of some fraternity.

With the completion of the Holy Lodge, the 796
participants returned to their own lodges to await the next ceremony which was, in effect, the start of the second half of the Okan. The first four days had led up to the construction of it; the last three or four days were taken up with ceremonies within it.

The next part of the Okan began when two [237]
men came out of their lodges wearing sacred dress
and carrying fans of eagle wings and boughs of [924]
creeping juniper. Four old men came behind [533]
them with hand drums, singing a sacred song.
The two men, known as the Weather Dancers, [534]
danced forward to the rhythm of the song, at the
same time blowing on whistles of eagle bone, [237]
which stuck from their mouths.

The Weather Dancers are the priests for the 796
activities that take place inside the Medicine 791
Lodge. The People placed their spiritual faith in
these men, who were considered to have Power to [789]
attract good weather to the encampment. It was [787]
up to the Weather Dancers to decide how many more days the Okan ceremonies would continue, and they would remain within the Medicine Lodge throughout that time to fast, pray, and dance. It is as a result of their duties that the Okan is often referred to as a Sun Dance.

The only clothing the Weather Dancers usu- 796
ally wore were moccasins and breechcloths. They 791
painted their bodies with designs shown to them 292
in dreams or given by some previous dancer. [302]
Around their heads and wrists they wore wreaths
of creeping juniper boughs, and eagle bone [787]
whistles hung from thongs around their necks. [924]
On their backs they sometimes wore white robes,
pinned together in front of their necks. They [237]
tried to concentrate their thoughts on the Holy [534]
Power that Sun passes on to all the creatures on Earth.

[P·34-A)

ing the 1892 Okan, the agents sent word to the 796
People that participants in self-torture would 785
henceforth be jailed. They aroused outside back- 657
ing for their move by calling the ceremonies
"heathen rituals." The missionaries hoped that [177]
this ban would lead to an end of the Medicine
Lodge ceremony itself. However, Medicine [797]
Lodges continued to be built. Self-torture vows
were carried out in places that were not so public.

In writing and with his camera, Wilson re- 796
corded the details of the last ceremonies to fulfill 785
self-torture vows:

> *Next day nothing occurred until afternoon,* [575]
> *when some members of two Societies, "Crazys"*
> [*Wilson's own name for the Crazy Dogs, who*
> *were not actually crazy in any way*] *and "Black*
> *Soldiers," came out of their rows. At this, Sitting* [292]
> *Bull's son entered in the paint garb of the "self-*
> *torture" as follows: no clothing except breach*
> *cloth and a blanket wrapped about him. A wreath* [824]
> *of wild sage about the head, a ring of same about*
> *each arm and ankle. Painted with white dirt from* [302]
> *head to foot. He sat down upon his blanket and*
> *presently some one placed a pillow and quilt on*
> *the ground upon which he laid down. A man* 796
> *assisted by others put a skewer in each breast and* 785
> *a 3rd* [behind] *one shoulder. When he arose to* 304
> *his feet a shield was fastened to the skewer in the*
> *back and the ropes from top of centre pole, to the*
> *others* [on his breasts]. *He walked up and em-* [782]
> *braced the centre pole and silently prayed. Then*
> [he] *went back until the ropes tightened and,*
> *reaching around behind, grasped the shield, tore*
> *it from his flesh with a jerk and cast it upon the*
> *ground. Giving a yell, he next caught hold of one*
> *of the ropes in each hand and gave them a couple*
> *of good jerks which pulled the skin out from his*
> *breast several inches each jerk. Then he threw* [534]
> *back his full weight upon the ropes, having first*
> *inserted a whistle in his mouth, the string of it*
> *depending from around the neck. The drums* [535]
> *started up and the boy danced in time to their* [533]

[p. 38-A]

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paint." If I cried the tears would run down there. 796
Then they painted a double row of six black dots. 785
The rest of my body was painted white, also my [302]
face. They took some of the broad-leafed sagebrush from the ground inside the sweat lodge and [292]
bound it together, placed a wreath of it around [824]
my head, and bands of it around each wrist and ankle.

I was taken from the sweat lodge and laid upon a blanket on the ground at the north side of the Center Pole with my head to the north, my feet toward the Center Pole. Other people were told to keep back away from me. Then an old man named Low Horn was brought forward. He counted four of his coups. The three old men, Little Bear, Red Bead, and Green Grass Bull, held me—one at each arm, and one at my head.
Red Bead took a sharp iron arrowhead in his [304]
hand, and asked me, "How do you want me to
cut them? Thick or thin?" I said, "Thin." I [411]
learned later that this question was always asked [412]
of the man undergoing the torture before his breasts were pierced, and the one doing the cutting always did just the opposite of the young man's request. So when I said "thin," Red Bead knew to make his incisions deep. Red Bead gave four of his own war coups. He made no prayer.
Then he pierced my breasts with the sharp arrowhead [824]
and inserted a serviceberry stick through each breast. The sticks were not sharp but flattened at the ends. The other two men held my arms as he cut and inserted the sticks. Blood flowed down my chest and legs over the white paint. Then Red Bead pressed the sticks against my body with his hands. They turned me around
to face Sun and pierced my back. To the skewers [714]
on my back they hung an imitation shield, not so heavy as a war shield. The shield had feathers on it, but I don't remember how it was painted. It belonged to a man named Peninsula.

The ropes were brought out from the Center Pole and tied to the skewers in my breasts—right side first, then left side. Red Bead then grabbed

ceeded around the camp circle, each time waiting 796
for someone to approach them. This is what they 575
prayed: "Help, O Sun, may someone take this [782]
tongue. O Sun, bless the tongue yourself so that
someone may build a holy lodge for you."

The elderly Horns members sang a song of [533]
praise for each band in the camp circle—the Fish
Eaters band, the Many Children band, and also
for the women who sponsor Holy Lodges. . . .

Still, there was no one to sponsor a Holy
Lodge. The men continued carrying the tongue
around the camp circle. They stopped a little way
from the east entrance of the camp circle. They
were worried. This was their last stop, the camps
of the Lone Fighters band. For this band they [533]
sang, "My children, when they were long gone,
I was still happy."

The members prayed again and were about to
go back to their lodge when a woman came out
of her tipi. As she walked toward them, Chief
Calf came out and sang a song of praise for the
woman. The woman was the wife of Iron Necklace
[better known as Heavy Shield]. Her name [795]
was Many Kill. She walked straight up until she
stood in front of the leader who carried the
tongue. She held out her robe in bowl-like fashion.
The tongue carried around the camp was held [824] ●
with sage grass and a braid of sweetgrass. It was
not carried in a dish.

Many Kill did not say a word; the leader did not say a word. He just gave her the tongue. As he did, the rest said, "Aye," and made a downward brushing motion at the woman, showing their acceptance of her holy effort. She stood facing northeast. She turned to her right and went home. The leader was the woman's father. He sang, "Many Kill Woman—when she started to walk I was very happy."

The People all sang praise. The Horns Society members returned to their lodge. They walked around it from the south side to the north side, in the direction that Sun travels, and then they went inside. Some of them came out and called

[p. 45-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

built. The young Horns got their saddle ponies 796
and rode down to the river. They gathered one 346
hundred rocks. The rocks were smaller than a 575
folded fist. White flint rocks and sand rocks were not taken. They picked all ordinary rocks. About noon the riders were heard returning, singing plainly. There were no women among the riders. The riders paraded around the inside of the camp circle. They all dismounted at the Holy Lodge tipi and their horses were led away.

The sweat lodge was constructed. There are 796
one hundred willows to a holy sweat lodge. The 346
entrance is on the east side and the exit is on the [824]
west side, just like the daily path of Sun. The
fifty willows on the south side were colored with [531]
real paint [red earth] and the other fifty willows
were colored with black paint. The real paint [822]
represents the day; the black paint represents the
night. The buffalo hides used to cover the sweat [237]
lodge were also colored, the hides on the south
side with real paint, the hides on the north side [531]
with black paint. In recent years the willows and the canvases are not colored anymore.

In legends of the long-ago, only one rock was used in the sweat lodge. Lately, one hundred rocks were used. In this sweat lodge the rocks were not heated red hot. It was a sweat lodge just to reinforce the spiritual powers.

The buffalo skull, which is offered to Sun, was [237]
laid on a small pile of dirt that had been scooped
out from a hole inside the sweat lodge. It is different [182]
with the Crow Indians, who put their buffalo [171]
skulls by the Center Pole. Buffalo skulls are no longer left out as offerings. They are put away for use in the next Sun Dance.

The night after the sweat lodge ceremonies,
the Horns Society members were painted and the 796
next morning they cut down the Center Pole. 346
There were four singers, each with hand drums, 575
which were invented by that time. The Center
Pole was cut down, and as it was hauled to the [533]
center of the camp circle, the Horns Society [534]
members rode on it. A woman member was ap-

[p.47-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

overcame my original intentions. I began to wonder /23
how I would explain my presence in the
silence waiting for us. We left our overshoes in
the entryway and stepped inside.

The room was lit by a bare light bulb. There /23
was a strong contrast to everything I saw. While I 353
tried not to look at anything in particular, my
eyes were attracted at once to many pleasant
scenes. Sacred Bags and Bundles hung up on the
rear wall. Photographs were mounted inside old
frames. In the middle of the room stood a vintage [354]
upright heater. Its stovepipe went up to the ceiling
and then, along the ceiling far back through a
hole in the wall, to the chimney. A box of coal sat
next to the heater. The heater and stovepipe radiated
considerable warmth in the little house. On
the floor, between the heater and the Bundles on
the rear wall, was a wooden box filled with earth.
It was the Old Man's altar, on which he made [778]
incense. Sacred stones were inside the box and [824] ●
braids of sweetgrass lay on the floor next to it.
Heavy winter coats and an assortment of cowboy
hats and slouch caps hung from nails and hooks
by the doorway. A worn dresser was pressed [352]
against the far wall. The clutter of things on the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 50-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

lead him to her tipi. Napi quickly jerked his hand 539
away and shrunk back, shouting, "Go away, you 773
filthy woman, I wouldn't have you for my wife."
The chief of the women was angered and re-
turned alone to her lodge. She quickly cleaned
herself and put on her fine buckskin outfit. She
braided her hair and incensed her body in the
smoke of sweetgrass. When Napi saw this well-
dressed woman walking toward the gathering he
thought, "My, what a fine-looking woman. I
would like to have her for my wife." She walked
right up to him and he thought that she was
going to choose him. However, she walked on by
and chose the man standing next to him. As she
left with her new husband she reminded the
other women that they were not to choose Napi.
Thus, Napi was left alone while all the others
became husbands and wives. For many centuries [824] ●
a large pine tree stood at the Women's Buffalo
Jump. People said that it was the ghost of Napi
mourning because he had no wife.

NAPI AND THE NIGHT HAWKS

South of Calgary, there is a place the Old People [825]
call Where Napi Slept. The shape of Napi's bed
can still be plainly seen. Napi and Kit Fox were
taking a trip through this area. They came to the
top of a high hill, where Napi told his partner,
"Let us slide down this hill to save ourselves the
trouble of walking." As they reached the bottom,
a huge slide of loose rocks came down after them.
But they ran just in time. The Old People call
this place Napi's Slide. As the two hiked over
the hot prairie, Napi decided that his robe was
getting too heavy. They passed by a lone boulder,
and Napi laid his robe over it, saying, "Here, my
friend the stone, take this robe to keep you
warm." When they had not walked very much
farther, they noticed dark clouds coming up. Napi
feared that a thunderstorm was approaching. He
told Kit Fox to go back and ask the stone to
lend him his robe. Kit Fox went back, but soon

[p.53-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

Bundles lost or sold, the painted designs on our 532
tipis are the same ones our oldest living People 342
saw when they lived in the circle camps as [778]
children.

In the days when the first white men came to [178]
visit our People, tipis were made of buffalo hides
and designs were painted with natural colors, usually
various shades of our Mother Earth. From [822]
her comes the sacred red paint we apply to our
faces, bodies, and holy objects, as well as our tipis. [776]
The red paint represents our Earth Mother, the [778]
blood within our bodies, and also the color of our
Father, Sun, in the morning and evening.

There are many types and shades of red 386
earth, but only two kinds are used for sacred purposes. 778
One is *Nitsisahni*, or "real paint," which is
fairly bright red and the most commonly used
shade. The other red paint is called the "seventh [801]
paint," because it is most often used in Medicine Pipe ceremonies where the number seven is sacred. Darker than real paint, it contains a substance that gives it a greasy feel and a shiny appearance. The Old People say that if sacred paint is not gathered properly with many prayers and good thoughts, it will turn into plain dirt before it can be used.

Other sacred paint colors include black, usu- [237]
ally made from powdered charcoal; yellow, made [824] ●

[p. 67-B]

from a clay, though it used to be made from buf- 386
falo gallstones; and green, made from a certain 778
type of algae.

In the Old Days, these natural colors were [237]
mixed with water and animal fat to form the [824]
paint that was applied to tipi covers. Brushes were 532
made from buffalo bones. The bone was cut at one
end, so that its pores were exposed to form the tip [237]
of the brush. These pores held the thick paint [413]
quite well. The natural paints had to be rubbed
into the lodge covers very thoroughly, or else they
would run with each rainfall. Even so, the natural
colors tended to fade very quickly from constant
exposure to the elements. Nowadays, we use the [178]
somewhat organic combination of oil paint and
linseed oil, which has proved to be effective and
durable.

Painted tipis are usually given up as an offer- 782
ing whenever a new cover is made, as there should 532
never be two copies of the same cover. The old
cover is either offered to the Underwater Spirits 342
by sinking it with rocks into a lake, or offered to
Sun by leaving it weighed down by rocks out on
the prairie.

Nevertheless, occasionally two or more covers 432
having the same design can be found. In some
cases, they represent similar dreams by different 532
people. In other cases, they indicate a design not 342
ceremonially transferred but inherited, and prob- [787]
ably looked upon as a family heirloom or coat-of-
arms to be reproduced in new tipi covers—usually [424]
by younger people unaware that they should not [428]
copy the design. And then there are those who
know better, yet copy original designs on new
covers and sell them to museums and collectors of
"Indian relics." Finally, so-called Indian enthusi-
asts also contribute to the existence of multiple
copies of the same design, when they make pains-
takingly precise but nonspiritual representations
of some old design for their own tipis.

The Spirit of the Otter has inspired more 532
designs than any other spiritual power. Our own 342
Otter Tipi was one of four similar ones at last [776]

[p. 68-A]

taken inside at night. During ceremonies such as 779
the Sun Dance, the Bundle is opened and the flag [415]
tied to an extra-long tipi pole so that it hangs high
above the doorway. As it waves in the air, the [237]
bells jingle, reminding everyone of its presence. [534]
Two of the Otter Tipis last summer had Otter
Flags flying above their doorways. One belonged
to the family of Many Grey Horses, who also
owns a Medicine Pipe Bundle. The other one belonged
to an old lady named Mrs. White Man
Left. The transfer ceremony for an Otter-Flag [432]
Tipi used to be very involved and took four days [796]
to complete.

OTHER PAINTED TIPI DESIGNS

Let me explain some of the spiritual meanings of 532
tipi designs. Basically, the painting on a tipi is 822
divided into three sections: the band of symbols
around the bottom represents Earth; the large
area in the center represents Universe; and the
section at the top represents Sky.

The bottom band is generally painted black,
brown, or red, to represent the color of the Earth,
or else it is painted green to represent the grasses
and trees. Within this band are usually two rows [824]●
of discs representing the puffballs that cover the
prairies, considered to be the remains of fallen
stars. This bottom band can be straight and flat,
for the flatness of the plains; topped by semicircles,
for the rolling hills; or pointed, for the
mountains. In the back, directly opposite the entrance, [797]
the bottom band often rises in large
square or oval projection, representing the entrance
to the animal's den the original owner
went to for his dream. In a few cases this large
design represents the boulders on which buffalo
like to rub themselves when out on the prairie.

The large, central area on the tipi cover usually symbolizes the universe in general, and can also represent the particular element in which the dream animal or bird lives. It is here that the major tipi motifs are depicted. The male symbols

[p.72-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

space on the north side, against the wall, where 796
laid the mysterious bundle as yet unrolled. Running 778
Wolf sat next to it on the east. Three Bulls
upon the left of Running Wolf and next to him
was Old Moon; the other men sat against the wall
side by side reaching along the east wall to the
door. Upon the right, on west side, sat the
squaws, the wife of Three Bulls being next to the
bundle and the wives of the other two medicine
men, right of her; the other squaws sat in a row
against the wall thus leaving a space for dancing
in the middle of the room. Near the door, in [262]
front of a stove, were several pots of rice, stewed [272]
beef tongues and tea. "Running Wolf" began the
opening songs with gestures and was assisted by
the other men near him.

A long, slender, forked willow was passed [412]
around the room from right to left; each person as
he or she received it, held it up to the cheek and [824]
murmured a prayer. This implement is used to [782]
carry coals from fire to altar as I will show. When
the stick came back to Running Wolf he made a
long prayer and put it down in front of him. In
front of the sacred bundle was the altar, a pyrimid
of clay about 6 inches in height, flattened on top
[to represent a Beaver's home]. Running Wolf
now handed a squaw the willow fork, who extracted
from the fire a red coal which she deposited
upon the pyrimid. He next gave her a little [237]
piece of wool or hair which she placed upon the
fork and stood waiting near the stove; Running [533]
Wolf was all this time singing. At end of the song
the door was quickly opened by a woman sitting
near it; the wool was cast from the fork into the
fire and Running Wolf sprinkled incense upon
the coal and he and all those present made signs
of chasing something out of the door.

Singing renewed at once [with] gestures as if
to receive something from the entrance which
they placed upon their breasts. [This is sometimes [201]
referred to as the "receiving sign," the
People showing that they take into their hearts
whatever is being sung or prayed about.] Many of [533]

[p.92-8]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

the songs were started while all the singers placed 796
ends of their fingers to the floor. [These songs 778
referred to our Earth Mother.] A man took the 533
forked stick and brought a coal from the fire to
the altar upon which incense was then made with [824] ●
sweet-grass. A song in the meantime being sung.
Gesture in this was shading the eyes with hands, [201]
and searching for something on the ground. [This
gesture illustrated the words in one of the opening
songs, in which the Beaver says, "When
spring comes I look outside, and if I see any
enemies I dive back down under the water."]
Running Wolf ended that song with a prayer. [782]

Singing was at once renewed. R Wolf and
Three Bulls' wife, who were the persons nearest
to the bundle, now turned in their seats towards
it. The woman took up the bundle and held it up
a foot or so from the cushion and towards the
altar; it being rather heavy she was assisted by the
woman next to her. R Wolf took up a roll of raw [237]
hides and rattles and held them also towards the [534]
altar. Three Bulls held up a bag containing rattles
and then several songs were sung at conclusions as
the articles were set down again. After another
song Three Bulls' wife unrolled the bundle, while
the men spread a tanned beef hide on the floor,
hair side down. . . . Continuing his songs, Running
Wolf took the bag of rattles and distributed
them to the musicians. [A special rawhide was
spread over the tanned hide. The rattles from the
Bundle may be beaten only on this rawhide.]

In next song, each musician took up one [825]
rattle and held it with handle resting on floor, and
ended the song by imitating the caw of the
crow. . . .

3 songs came next, rattle held as before; at end of each song they cawed, struck the upturned bottom of rattle with ends of fingers of right hand, thus mimicking very nicely the picking and cawing of the crow. Next was a song during which they all took up rattles and beat slowly a few times on the hides in front of them and ended the song by striking some quick and strong blows,

[p. 93-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

During the next song the two women got 796
down upon their knees and Running Wolf's wife, 778
dancing in that position, held her blanket in such
a way as to catch one of her husband's rattles [535]
which he threw into it, at which the squaws both
took to their feet and danced around the room.
At 3:45, soda biscuits were passed around to the [262]
men; like all the food, this was sent around the [264]
room in the course of the sun, that which reached
those men sitting near the entrance made a com-
plete circuit. As usual a small bit was broken off a [782]
biscuit by each man and put upon the ground
with a short prayer, but in this case it was done by
the singers only. The women were also helped to
biscuits, and Moon's wife alone made offering to
the earth and prayed a lot of nonsense "at me."
Running Wolf exhibited a duck skin, and holding [237]
it up, he sang 4 songs, ending each with an imita- [533]
tion of a Duck's call; the rattles were not used
during those 4 songs. 4 squaws and Running [825]
Wolf got down on their knees and with their [535]
hands and arms over their heads, resembling
antlers, they made gestures of deer, while dancing
in front of the altar; at the end of each song, they
turned about without altering their body config-
uration; all got up at the end of the fourth song.

In the following, Running Wolf's wife took [535]
a large beaver skin, and placing it on her back, she
danced around; three women followed suit. . . . [237]
These hides were several times changed about
among the 4 women who danced completely
around the room several times, imitating the mo-
tions of beaver. . . .

At 4:20 incense was made; the assistant who
brought the coal of fire for the altar, this time
accidentally dropt it on the floor half way be-
tween the fire and altar; it was brushed to one
side and a fresh one obtained. 3 Bulls, I noticed, [824]
all day was chewing the bark of red willow, which
he bit from willow sticks he had. The fossil songs [533]
were now commenced, during which a fossil [an
Iniskim] was produced by Running Wolf from
the outfit. At end of one song he held it to his lips [782]
and prayed. . . . Incense. . . . The fossil was

[p.96-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Blackfoot Beaver Bundle and auxiliary bundle. The "auxiliary bundle" is actually a set of bags containing accessories used during the ceremony. We do not consider this a "Bundle." 778

Here is the list of what she found in the main Blackfoot Bundle:

Outer wrapping—red painted skin. Inner wrapping—buffalo hide. Thong for tying bundle. "Buffalo rock" [Iniskim]. Buffalo skin wrap for rock. Buffalo rib. 4 sticks about 10 inches long. 6 bladder bags tied together. 32 bird and animal skins. Awl. Bladder bag (inside of animal skin). Bladder bag (inside of same skin), contains—Sandstone pipe bowl. Beaded fur charm (inside of same skin). [237] [412] [276]

And in the "auxiliary bundle":

Nez Perce bag [the large, walletlike bags woven from corn husk strands by the Nez Perce People, obtained by trade and long-favored for holding rattles and other accessories of Beaver Bundles]. 11 rawhide rattles. Rattle of thong-tied Elk hooves. 8 smooth sticks, 8 inches long. 2 braids of sweetgrass. 2 skin bags tied together, red paint and black paint. Skin bag, containing two buffalo rocks. Feather and weazel-trimmed pipe stem in red "stroud" [coarse blanket] case. Long slender stick. Piece of broomstick in red stroud case [to replace a missing second sacred Pipe]. Rectangle of painted raw-hide. [439] [534] [237] [824] [276]

The missing Pipestem might have been worn out, broken, lost, stolen, or buried with a previous Owner. In the Old Days the missing Stem would have been remade. That only thirty-two skins were left with the main Bundle in 1939 gives some indication that Beaver Bundles were then no longer kept up. Long ago, many more skins would have been included. It is possible that the missing skins were not replaced because their songs had been forgotten, making them unneces- 778 178

[p.97-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

Ground squirrel, not clearly identified 778
" " " " "
Muskrat—whole skin, not stuffed 237
" " " " "
Muskrat—fore part of skin—like pouch
Muskrat—whole skin, not stuffed
Ground squirrel—a mere fragment
Pine squirrel—skin remains whole
Long-tailed weasel
Fawn skin—whole skin—open at neck and rear—a cloth bag inserted probably for tobacco, but no indication of such use.
Beaver skin—whole skin and tail—adult—thong in nose
Beaver skin—whole skin and tail—not stuffed (young)
Mink skin—whole—rose colored beads for eyes
Piece of buffalo skin—hair on—skin side red. Listed as wrapping for buffalo rock
Buffalo rib—rubbed with red paint—shows polish on midsection where edge is sharp, as if used for scraper. [It was used to stir the sacred soup for ceremonies.] [412]
Skin of a young badger—body drawn out at the neck—to form bag. Part of the breast and tail reinforced with red strouding.
Straight sandstone pipe—grey [276]
Bladder with handful of dried berries, probably service-berries. One large berry was found in the bowl of the pipe. [824]
A typical bone awl from deer leg. Painted red—probably used as a pipe stoker, but not blackened by use. [412]
Charm of badger fur, a beaded top piece, with short strip of weasel tail as a base setting, a thong for suspension.
Following this list were these notes:

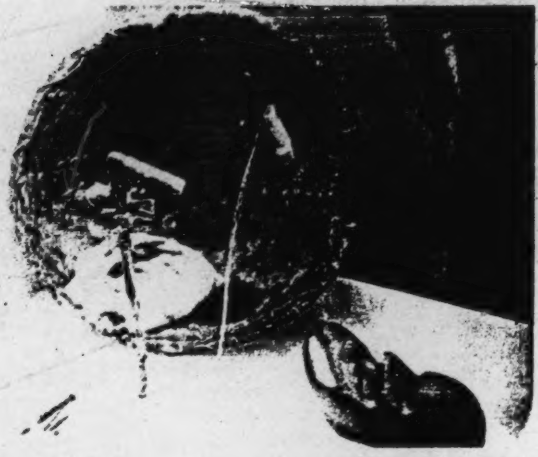
In skinning animals and birds for Beaver Bundles, the idea seems to be to pull the body out through the neck or the rectum area. This enables the skin to be stuffed and, in some cases, a cloth bag or poke inserted for tobacco and other ob- 778 281

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101-A]

[p. 98-B]

21: Hungry Wolf ~~F-4,5 (ca. 1972)~~ 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

778
415
824
237
412
782
776
796



Sacred objects from a Beaver Bundle. The rawhide bowl has a willow hoop around its opening. It was used to serve the sacred soup during the planting ceremonies of the sacred tobacco, which Beaver Men used to lead. In the bowl are a bunch of dried serviceberries. The two digging sticks were used to make the holes for the sacred seeds. Offerings of tiny moccasins are tied to one stick for the Tobacco Spirits. The Iniskim, or sacred stone, at the right, was often left nearby the sacred plants for protection. Sacred Tobacco was last planted by the Bloods around 1871.

[249]

[P.99-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

*jects. Now and then, the neck and head and even the body cavity is stuffed with rags, or cotton to fill up space. In a few examples we have found sweet grass, etc. thrust into the cavity.*A 778 291 [924]

When the skin begins to fall apart, especially in case of birds when legs, wings, and head begin to separate, crude attempts may be made to fasten them together. Not always is good knowledge of specimen characters shown; as when a duck head is fastened to the body of a grebe.

Finally as to the peculiar sandstone pipe bowl. It shows signs of weathering like an archeological specimen. It has not been handled much, with no signs of use in smoking. It does not fit the stem of decorated .pipe accompanying the bundle [though it might have fit the missing Stem]. 778 276

OUR LAST BEAVER BUNDLES

The Beaver Bundle ceremony began to lose its spiritual meaning when our People, settled down on the reserve, no longer lived closely with the birds and animals. The North Blackfoot People were the last to use Beaver Bundles as part of the traditional planting ceremonies of the sacred tobacco. These were continued until a few years ago, although no sacred tobacco had been grown among the Bloods and Piegans for a very long time. 771 778 178

Percy Creighton was incorrect in 1939 when he wrote Mrs. Walters, "There is no longer a beaver bundle in the tribe." There were still more than half a dozen at that time. But by 1965 there remained only two Beaver Bundles on the Blood Reserve. One belonged to Stealing-Different-Things-Woman, the old widow of Rides-at-the-Door, and our last holy woman. This Bundle was scorched a few years ago when the house it was kept in burned down. The old lady managed to escape the fire safely with her sacred Natoas Bundle, her holy woman's headdress, and, somehow, the Beaver Bundle. She and her husband had re- 778 [425]

A, [i.e., the cavities of birds and animals found in Beaver Bundles--Analyst]

[P.101-A]

my left. The stem was made from a branch of 276
silverberry willow, a popular wood for making 322
pipestems. However, the most popular pipestem
wood is a species of ash that has a nice-looking [824]
straight grain, found in the country of the Crow [137]
and Sioux People. In the Old Days it was brought
back to Blackfoot country by members of war
parties. Today it is obtained by trade or gift, or
else our People cut it themselves while visiting in
that country for a powwow encampment.

Before beginning the hole, I prayed that I [782]
would continue to live a straight life and that the
hole in this pipestem should be evidence of
whether or not I would do so successfully. If the [787]
hole should come out through the side of the
stem, it would be a bad sign for me and my family.
I made three passes toward the spot and then
pressed the heated point against the core of the
stem. As the first wire cooled off, I placed it back
into the fire and took up the other one. In this
way, the soft core of the stem was easy to burn
through. Slowly, I turned the stem in my hand to
make sure that the hot wire would burn a hole
straight through.

Atsitsina described how holes were put
through pipestems in the Old Days: "My dad [412]
said that ever since he could remember there had
always been some wire around the camps, but he
told me that they used to use long twigs of hardwood
the same way that we use wire. Before that, [412]
in the long-ago, they must have made their pipestems
the same way that I showed you to make a
pipestem on a war trail—just cut a dry stick from
a rose bush, or something similar, and split it in
half with a knife. When it's split that way, then
you can scrape the stuff out of the middle. When [391]
you put it back together, you can seal it shut with
pitch or with that glue they used to make by [824]
boiling hooves, and then you can wrap wet sinew [237]
or thin buckskin all along it."

A little puff of smoke from the other end of
the stem signaled my success at burning through a
straight hole. As soon as the stem had cooled, [412]

used a stone that was too weak. Besides, it is 324
easier to shape the bowl around the holes than it 276
is to drill the holes according to a specific shape.

After the bowl is shaped, it must be blackened. Atsitsina taught me the method of blackening shown to him by old Natosina, his dad. He made me promise to preserve the knowledge as a "family secret," for that was how his dad had kept it. Since most pipemakers use variations of the same method, I will tell you some that have been used.

A brief study of Blackfoot pipes, published in the American Museum of Natural History's Anthropological Papers of 1963, comments on two Blood pipemakers interviewed in 1947 by an anthropologist named John Ewers. Both Blood pipemakers were also Beaver Bundle Owners. One of them was Small-Back-Sides, better known by his other name, Not Good. He was seventy-two years old at that time. Ewers had this to say about his pipemaking:

> *Small-Back-Sides' simple hand tools differed* 324
> *from those used by other pipemakers. He em-* 276
> *ployed a hand drill, composed of a narrow V-* 412
> *shaped metal shaft, set in a wooden cross-handle. Holding this tool . . . he drilled the stem hole first, and then the bowl hole. He enlarged the latter with a flattened, sharp-sided screwdriver. He shaped the outside of the bowl with a rasp, then erased the tool marks with commercial sandpaper.*
>
> *Small-Back-Sides said that he usually drilled* 324
> *and shaped his pipe bowls during the winter* 276
> *months. When cottonwoods were in bud the fol-* 531
> *lowing spring he blackened the pipe bowls by* 824
> *rubbing the surfaces with sticky cottonwood buds, covering them with grease, and holding them over a fire of buckbrush. Finally he polished the blackened pipes with a cloth.*

Old Iron, father of Ponah and Mrs. Red 324
Crow, was the other pipemaker interviewed in 276

[p.110-19]

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[Contents of a Motokiks Bundle]

- one unused clam shell and one clam shell used to mix green paint in, along with a mixing stick, all wrapped in a bladder and kept inside a small bag of cheesecloth. 575 778 [237]
- one buffalo skin bag of sacred red paint, wrapped in a piece of canvas and tied with a thong.
- a bundle of sweetgrass braids wrapped in calico cloth. [824]
- a large bundle with calico cloth around it, containing the headdress parts, which were only assembled when it was used; the parts included the snake, made of stuffed, yellow-painted buckskin with a zigzag line beaded along its body, beads and bells to be attached at several points, and three plumes, consisting of many small feathers attached to three main shafts, to be attached to the snake to complete the headdress. [292] [237] [531]
- a batch of small feathers, some red and some natural white, in a paper wrapping. [237]
- a bone whistle, also kept inside this part of the Bundle, each member wearing such a whistle during the ceremony. [534]

The main Bundle also contained a "loose bead trimmed pendant"; a tiny cloth bag, inside of which was a bladder filled with some kind of roots; and a small "accessory" bundle of paint bags, more roots and painting shells, and some ancient cloth and scarf wrappings. [237]

575 /27 Robert Wilson was probably the first person to photograph members of the Motokiks wearing their headdresses and putting up their lodge. In those days, the lodge was still constructed with a framework of travois. To accompany Wilson's photographs of 1892 scenes, let us read some excerpts from the 1905 notes of David Duvall, a South Piegan man who collected traditional information for the anthropologist Clark Wissler. These notes are now in the American Museum of Natural History. Duvall got most of his information from an old member who was the wife of Heavy Runner.

[p. 112-13]

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[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

The ma'toki dance but once a year when the 575
camp circle is formed. Their ceremony lasts four 796
days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the 346
one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. . . . On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended. . . . Near the cross piece on the pole are four transverse black bands about a hand apart. . . . The members bring their bedding and occupy their respective places during the entire four days.

There are six men attached to the society, 575
but all the other members are women. Four of 796
these do the singing. The remaining pair act as 353
messengers and attendants. . . . Each woman has a red-painted backrest stick planted before her seat to support her headdress. When they sleep they lie with their feet toward the center. Just to the west side of the center pole is a fire. When food is brought in and handed to members, they pass what is given them to members on the opposite side. Each member has an individual smudge
altar before her seat. . . . Along the sides next to [237]
the sitter are rows of buffalo chips covered with [824] ●
sage grass. Sweetgrass is used for smudge. The [292]
headdresses must always be smudged four times
before they are placed on the head. [788]

Men, women, and children go in to be 575
painted, taking with them sun offerings of cloth, 796
etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. [782]
The faces of these donors are painted over with
red and a blue mark made down the forehead and [302]
nose with a fork at the top . . . to symbolize the [822]
tipi pole in the center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at [346]
the northeast and one at the southeast. In going out members use the nearest door but return by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115A]

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

some person lays hold of them and leads them to 575
a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in 796
*the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and
walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.*

Like the horns and other societies the members 575
sell, or transfer to others, usually all transferring 796
at the same time. The ceremony seems to 432
*require four days and nights, during which time
they are not supposed to sleep. . . . It is said* [513]
that the entire night is given to hilarity. Joke and [522]
*jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and act
out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll
up blankets like medicine bundles and hold mock
ceremonies. . . .*

The fees for buying a membership are a [424]
horse, a gun, and other property. The most expensive [435]
*place is that of the tipi pole owner for
which twelve horses and a proportionate amount
of other property are required.*

Shortly after Atsitsina left, we went outside 575
our tipi to watch the Motokiks. They were already 796
beyond the camp circle, walking in single 782
file from east to west, along the south side of the
circle. We saw Mokakin take down a spare lodge
pole leaning against the back of his tipi. An offering [824]
made of willow sticks, sage grass, and cloth
was fastened to the pole. Mokakin had put the
offering on the lodge pole before Sunrise, so that
Sun could see where it came from.

The women sat down on the ground outside
the south end of camp. Mokakin untied the [276]
offering and gave it to his son Charlie, along with
a filled pipe and a bunch of sage grass, to bring to
the women. Charlie presented these things to one
of the members and knelt before her to receive
her prayer. Then she lit the pipe and passed it
around. After it was smoked out, she returned it
to him. The women got up and, single file, moved

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119-A]

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Blood

asleep. This happened a few more times until Napi fell fast asleep. 539 773

After a while a Bobcat came along and found the roasted Gophers next to Napi. Bobcat saw Napi asleep and began to eat his Gophers. Napi's rear end tried to wake him up. It made loud noises at first, then really awful noises. Napi didn't wake up, but Bobcat became so disgusted that he picked up all the Gophers and took off.

When Napi finally woke up he saw that all of his Gophers were gone. He became angry at his rear end for not waking him. He took a hot coal [824] *of silverberry wood from the ashes in the fireplace and tortured his rear end with it. That's the reason we don't use silverberry wood in our fires. It smells so bad we call it stinkwood.*

As sometimes happens after the laughter of 000 an amusing story, our minds became relaxed and it was easy for us not to say anything. Our eyes became fixed on the ancient process of fire turning wood into ashes. A breeze softly flagged the canvas lodge cover against the tipi poles. The gentle sounds of evening activity seemed distant. Mokakin began to speak. "Day after tomorrow, my grandson is going to take our old holy Pipe."

[p.121-8]

keep the sacred objects bundled up so that their 778
spiritual powers will only be used in the proper
sacred way.

The main object in every Medicine Pipe 778
Bundle is the sacred Stem. Like exceptionally 276
long regular pipestems, they have a straight hole
beginning at the carved mouthpiece and ending
at the carved bowl-fitting. Sacred Pipes are very [531]
handsomely decorated, with many black-and-
white ermine tails, black-and-white eagle feathers, [237]
eagle plumes, other feathers, and beads, bells, and
porcupine quills. They are kept in long, tubular [415]
cases of red, blue, or black wool stroud cloth, the
kind with the white selvedges brought to our
People by traders of the long-ago. These cloth
covers replaced the original buckskin covers as
they wore out.

Spiritually, the sacred Stems represent all the 778
Holy Powers of the Universe. They were first 776
given by Thunder, who embodies the rain-water 276
that helps to make everything grow. The wood 824
stems represent all the plants that grow upon 825
Earth; the eagle tailfeathers represent all the
Above Powers, including all the birds, the eagle
being the most Powerful among them; the ermine
skins stand for all the Below Powers, including
the animals that walk on Earth; and the beads
and bells symbolize all the goodness and beauty of
the Universe. The sacred Stems are attached to [823]
stone bowls that represent the strength of our
Earth Mother. Her Spirit travels in the form of
smoke along the long and straight path of the
sacred Stem, into the body of the smoker, and as
he exhales it, up into the air that flows throughout the Universe. The physical appearance of a
sacred Pipe represents all the holy beauty that can
be found if one lives by its holy Ways.

No one knows exactly how many sacred 778
Pipes were made among our People throughout 276
the ages, but there were probably no more than a
few dozen. Shortly after 1900, Clark Wissler
made an extensive study and concluded that there
were "something more than seventeen" Medicine

[p. 124-8]

Pipes among all four divisions of our People. 778
Since there were almost that many remaining 276
among all our People less than twenty years ago,
his estimate may be low. But it does give some
idea of how many there were among a tribe of
over ten thousand registered members. Today
there are twelve Medicine Pipes left on the four
reserves of our People.

The sacred Stem constitutes the "main" Pipe
in a Bundle. There is also another long Pipestem,
which we call the secondary Pipe. This second
Stem is not included in all the Bundles, and its
original purpose has been forgotten. Its stem is
flat, not round like the main Pipe's, and it is only
sparsely decorated. It is kept in a cloth cover simi- (415)
lar to the one for the main Pipe. These two sacred
Stems are like father and mother to the other
contents in the Bundles.

The skins of birds and animals vary according [787]
to the origins and later dreams accompanying
each Bundle. Each skin represents not only its
own species but also that element of nature in
which it lives most successfully; this is usually
mentioned in the song for that bird or animal.

Every Medicine Pipe Bundle contains the 778
skin of an owl, representing night. Owls have the 825
Power to succeed then, when others are handi- 237
capped. Another important skin is that of the
loon, which represents the element of water. The
loon has the Power of Water, where it swims and
finds its food and raises its children. The skins of
hawks and eagles are important because they rep-
resent the element of air, the Power to fly in the
sky. The skins of antelopes and deer symbolize
the element of Earth and the Power to live on the
prairies and in the forests. The skin of a marmot
stands for the Power to live in the high moun-
tains; the squirrel, the Power to live in open land.
A rattle of buffalo hide represents the Power of [534]
the Old People's most important source of food.
Dried berries (served in a sacred soup during the [824]
Thunder ceremony) are testaments of the Powers
of plants, as well as another of our Old People's

source of food. A whistle makes the sounds for 778
the winds and all the birds that fly in the air. 825
Pouches of sacred Earth paints represent our 237
Earth Mother. Sweet pine needles, used for in-
cense, speak for all that is sweet and holy. The [824]
tanned elk hide wrapped around the Bundle testi- [534]
fies to the majesty of that animal. The tanned
skin of a black bear, wrapped around the elk hide, [823]
represents the physical power of bears and gives
the Bundle strength and protection. A plaid shawl
draped over all of these things gives the Bundle
privacy and symbolizes the Power of the changes
that have come to our Old Ways.

Sacred Pipes are smoked only during Medi- 778
cine Lodge ceremonies, and not at any other time 276
—not even during Medicine Pipe Bundle-Open- 796
ing ceremonies. When taken out of their Bun-
dles, they are not smoked but danced with. [535]
Dancing is so important that many refer to our
Medicine Pipe ceremonies by the Blackfoot term
Ninamska-Paskan—Medicine Pipe Dance.

In the Old Days, when the People lived together in lodges, the Medicine Pipe Bundle was opened on the first day Thunder was heard in the spring. When this happened and it was confirmed in the home of a Bundle Owner that the opening ceremony would be held, the wife immediately began preparing the berry soup. Owner and wife would then change into their best dress and straighten out their lodge, which soon filled with relatives, friends, and all nearby Medicine Pipe People. If the Owner was not properly educated to open his own Bundle, he asked a former Owner to lead the ceremony.

Each Bundle had its own group of followers. 778
Those who formerly owned the Bundle always at-
tended all its ceremonies. Close relatives of the [425]
present Owner came, and the ones who helped
with the transfer payments were given spiritual
rights to parts of the Bundle. Others came be-
cause they were interested in the special Powers
of the Bundle.

In the Old Days, members of a band trans- 778
432

[p.125-B]

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

entrance the assembled guests sit smoking and 778
chatting upon all topics. 432

Host's wife presently brings in the Sacred 796
bundle and ties it to the lodge poles directly over
the cushion. Bundle is covered with a red shawl
and consists of a Bear Skin rolled around twenty
or so skins of animals and birds, some of the latter
stuffed, among which is an owl. In centre of
bundle are several red cloth bags containing the
Sacred Pipe, its two stems, a long wooden whistle,
rattles and a number of articles the uses of which
I will presently show.

Between the cushion and hole before men- [782]
tioned is now placed a live coal from the fire. The
priest places an open bag of sweet grass [actually, [824]
sweet pine] on the ground and taking right hand
of host in his right hand, he guides host's hand to
bag and extracts therefrom a pinch of the powder-
ized sweet grass, while both are muttering a
prayer. [The incense] is sprinkled upon the coal of
fire with a spiral motion of the hand, causing a
sweet odour to fill the lodge. The bundle is now
taken down and waved towards this altar four
times before it is set down upon the cushion.
[Wilson fails to mention that the series of Medi- [533]
cine Pipe songs is begun before the incense is
made. The singing goes on while the Bundle is
taken down and placed between its Owner and
the leader of the ceremony.]

Bowls and pans are now produced and the 778
squaws bring in pails of berry broth and rice, 432
which is served unto all present, myself among 796
the rest, though the stuff was not very tempting 782
to look at. I managed to make away with part of
my share as my right hand neighbor said it was [262]
not good to refuse. Before eating, the oldest man [576]
present picked one berry from his dish and hold-
ing it above at arm's length began an elaborate
prayer to the sun thanking him for past blessings,
for his old age (70 years), and soliciting future
favours for himself and host. He had hardly
started before the other old men followed suit
and before they had concluded, every male [and

[p. 127-B]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony 1890's]

done at S.W. where the other red plume is 796
placed, then N.W. and N.E. corners [in] which 432
are stuck the black plumes. Two small willow 778
sticks painted red, about 2 feet long, [are] stuck [824]
upright in the ground in front of and close to the
bundle, a third is tied across horizontally near
tops of them, four waves being made to altar be-
fore each stick is placed in position. The mouth [237]
ends of the two pipestems are placed resting
upon this crosspiece, a stuffed owl is laid with it,
head also upon the crosspiece end of long wood.
A quantity of tobacco, generally a 3 lb. carrot of [276]
H.B.C. [Hudson's Bay Company, which was [439]
often supplied by Wilson from his trading post]
tobacco, is now divided up by host and a piece [782]
given to priest who, breaking off a small particle,
holds it out in front of him and, often giving a
short prayer to the earth, pushes the balance into
the earth. One of the old men present counts a [555]
couple of coups which are loudly applauded. Four [302]
children, or as many as the host has, or any child
relative whose parents wish it to be painted, are [852]
brought forward, and painted by Priest. All is now 796
ready for dancing which is started by Priest, who 432
takes some article from the Sacred Outfit, gen- 778
erally the fancy stem of pipe, and dances around 535
the lodge and out through the entrance. He often
has in one hand this whistle which he points up [534]
to the sun and earth, blowing as he dances, and
shaking the pipestem which has a great many
bells on it. After turning around outside he [782]
dances back through lodge and having danced
four times, hands articles to host, who prays to
them [or with them, as I have said] and puts
them in their place. After some chatting, the [533]
drums start up again and sing three songs and at
the fourth, one of those men present who have
owned a Sacred Pipe gets up and dances around
the lodge, dancing towards the pipe three times,
holding out his hands as if he would take it; the
fourth time he takes it and often one of the other
articles and dances with them in his hands. Each
man dances to four songs [actually one song, sung

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

Dance, and the assembled men spend the night 796
singing and feasting and dancing. At the first sign 432
of daybreak five or six of them take the stem and 778
pipe and the owl and silently go to the lodge of
the sleeping candidate, taking with them a stroud
blanket or robe upon which they place the man.
Putting into his hands the stem and owl, they
then seize the corners of blanket and lift the man
bodily off the ground and carry him out and off to
the lodge of the owner of pipe where the cere-
mony is to take place. They there deposit him
upon the right of the Sacred outfit, which [place]
is vacated by the host who takes very little part in
what follows. While they are carrying their pris-
oner from one lodge to the other, a great deal of
shouting is done by themselves and those in the
other lodges. [This shouting is in the form of [554]
cheers honoring the candidate.] The candidate,
when seated, places the things he has been carry-
ing in their places. Singing and dancing is now
indulged in for about two hours, during which
the guests slip out one by one and go home and
wash and put on their good clothes, as they are
looking rather tough after the night's sleepless
feasting. Finally a couple of priests of the occa- [924]
sion chew sweet grass [again, sweet pine, the [261]
Medicine Pipe incense] and prepare to do the
decorating. A boy is decorated, his friends having [302]
paid two horses for the privilege. First a red ring [852]
is painted around the candidate's face and around
each wrist, and from there around to tips of
fingers; a spot is painted, one on each shoulder,
and feet are also painted red. Priest's hands are [292]
waved four times to incense before he does the [237]
painting; he now takes a sheep skin band, hair out-
side, painted red and blue, and puts it on man's
head, hand waved four times to incense; a feather
is stuck through hair at top of head, from right to
left, and boy is fixed up same way. Some other
children are now painted.

The vendor's wives now paint candidate's wives and hold up a blanket, curtaining off that portion of the lodge where they sit and dress them completely in new clothes which they, the

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

vendor's wives, supply. Vendor's wives chew 796
sweetgrass while they are dressing others. When 778
they are through the blanket is taken down. The 432
candidate is dressed completely in a new suit of [824]
clothes by vendor; this is done before his wives [261]
are dressed. Each garment is waved four times to
incense before being put on. Candidate now gets [824]
up and, passing behind pipe with fire stick in
hand walks out, stepping on four bundles of sage
the first four steps. A painted white horse is waiting [231]
outside which he mounts, and there is handed [531]
him the fancy pipestem, which he holds in his
arms. A priest leads off the horse, singing, to [533]
candidate lodge which the latter enters [candidate
enters his lodge]; a squaw brings back the [534]
horse, and priest returns with stem and owl [to
vendor's lodge]; 2 Priests and 2 others go outside
[vendor's lodge] having in their hands both pipestems,
owl, rattle, and whistles, they stand in a
line and sing while the four drummers form another
line behind and they all move off, singing,
to lodge of candidate; front line dancing and singing
forwards and backwards, at times facing
around when they at last arrive at candidate's
lodge. Front line goes in, drummers at once return
[to vendor's lodge], candidate at once comes
out [from his own lodge] and, mounting horse
which had been brought around again, he comes
back to [vendor's] lodge and enters. As he enters,
the drummers all take hold of a common
pipestem and bow their heads low, still waiting,
until he passes in, when they lift their heads and
go to work at their drums.

Now there is dancing for an hour, very much [535]
like Thunder Dance, but more of it, there sometimes
being four up at once. Head bands and
feathers are taken off. A blanket is now held up as [852]
a curtain, closing from view the man and boy. [302]
The two priests take the front locks of hair of
each [the man and boy] and form a top-knot by [237]
braiding out one braid in front and doubling it
back upon itself and tying it with buckskin; a long
strip of otter skin is wrapped around [the braided
lock], making a long roll sticking out over the

[p.130-B]

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Blood
[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

face; while this is being done a third priest stands 796
outside holding the fancy stem towards middle of 778
blanket to time of slow beat of drums. 432

A blue bead and shell is tied on each top [302]
knot; the priests again chew sweetgrass, spit on [237]
their hands and rub them over heads of man and
boy after they have fixed the hair; head bands and [301]
feathers are now replaced. One priest now gets up [824]
with man and boy, man with fancy stem in his [261]
hand; all face South then West then North and
dance a minute to slow time in each direction, at [535]
which there is great applause. [In the form of [152]
shouts and war cries. We clap our hands only to
accent our talking, not to applaud. The "ap- [554]
plause" is to cheer the new Medicine Pipe Man
during his first ceremonial act as Owner.]
Women do same, that is, candidate's wives and
two other women. All morning, relations of can- [431]
didate have been bringing in household articles
such as dishes, fry pans, cups and saucers, pails,
also blankets, guns, and etc. and piling them up at
the entrance. These are now distributed by ven-
dor and his wife to their relations, probably giving
those who contributed when they were buying
the pipe years ago.

Pipe is now rolled up and the newly made medicine man's wife carries it home on her back.

Wilson learned the Ways of the Medicine 796
Pipe ceremonies quite well, although, as indi- 778
cated by my parenthetical comments, he occa- [114]
sionally made a mistake, or misinterpreted. The
following story, told by our uncle, Atsitsina, illus- [115]
trates how well Wilson knew these ceremonies.
The story takes place during the Sun Dance Encampment at the Belly Buttes in the 1920s.

I will tell you the story of Long-Nosed Crow. 796
His name was Bob Wilson. He was just like an 778
Indian. He spoke the Blackfoot language just as I 177
am speaking it now. Everybody knew him. He knew me and my father very well.

One time, when this big-shot from the States called Schultz [James Willard Schultz, the author

[p. 131-A]

times, facing each of the four directions. The 796
dancing party stands on a walkway made up of 778
blankets, quilts, and pieces of material given to 535
the Bundle's Owner afterwards. However, for this 562
Bundle, both men and women dance, one encouraging the other.

Before the dancing began, Emonissi took the 796
sacred Pipe outside the main tipi and prayed to 778
the Powers of the Universe. He returned and laid [782]
the sacred Stem on a rack, made up of three sticks
like a miniature goal post. The drummers began [533]
the introductory turn for the Medicine Pipe
Dance. All the songs, or chants, were accompanied [534]
by hard-soft, hard-soft beats on the rawhide-covered hand drums. The four drums used to be among the accessories of a Bundle, but no longer. Today, drums are usually borrowed.

During the introductory song, Mokakin got 796
up and prepared to be the first dancer. He went 778
up front and took a pinch of sweet pine needles 783
from the pouch next to the altar. Putting the
needles in his mouth, he chewed them, then spit [824]
a bit of them in his right hand, which he brushed [261]
down the left side of his body. He did the same with his left hand. Then he repeated the whole ceremony. Finally, he spit some of the incense in his hands, rubbed his palms together, then rubbed the soles of his moccasins a total of four times. He was now symbolically purified and ready to handle the sacred objects from within the Bundle.

One of the two Pipestems was very simply 796
decorated, while the other was more fully deco- 778
rated with the eagle tailfeather fan. The simple 276
pipe looked like the secondary Pipe and the latter
looked like the main Pipe, except for one feature. [531]
The secondary Pipe is usually more recently [237]
made; but here this simple pipe was very ancient compared to the one with the eagle tailfeathers. And indeed, Mokakin selected the much older, more simple Pipe, which was this Bundle's main Pipe.

Mokakin prayed aloud, holding up the sacred 796
778
782

ing the Crees. Those who escaped sought shelter 778
in the nearby coulee and river bottom. They left 726
everything behind in their camp except their
women and children.

The invaders rounded up the Cree horses 778
and looted the camp. One Spot's partner, Many 727
Mules, saw the sacred Pipe wrapped up and hanging
from a tripod. As he approached it, One Spot
called out, "My friend, don't touch that sacred
thing. Those Crees have a lot of Power that may [829]
kill you if you take their Medicine." Startled,
Many Mules left the Pipe and went on to look for
other trophies. Then One Spot went over to it, [782]
said a prayer and took the sacred Pipe for himself,
calling out, "I am One Spot of the Bloods."

The war party had captured many horses, clothing, and other goods. A large victory dance was held when the party returned. They had not lost a single member. One Spot cradled the sacred Pipe in his arms while others danced with their captured goods. But he left the Pipe on a tripod outside of his tipi; he did not want to risk the safety of his family by bringing the Cree Medicine inside.

A few days later, One Spot asked several holy 778
men, old Medicine Pipe Owners and Beaver 783
Men, what he should do with his new sacred [789]
Pipe. They advised him to go through a purifying
ceremony to remove any bad Spirit the Crees
might have cast upon it from a distance. A bunch [824] ●
of sage was gathered and mixed with buffalo [237]
meat, a traditional sacrament believed to have the
Power to remove bad Spirits from anything. The
sacrament was rubbed all over the Pipestem and
One Spot's body while all the Old Men prayed.
After that, One Spot kept the Pipe inside his tipi.

In order to take this sacred Pipe into our 778
Medicine Pipe Ways, it was necessary to have it 425
transferred to an Owner. Because One Spot had
fulfilled his purpose by capturing the Pipe and
bringing the party safely back home, he decided
to give it to Many Mules. The basic materials for
a Medicine Pipe Bundle were collected, and Old

*day." Then came the song, which consisted en- 756
tirely of these words: "May I eat all that flies. May 787
I eat a fish."* [782]

*My father would start to sing this song him-
self, beating his drum, and then another person,* [533]
his assistant, would take over the drumming and begin singing also, as my father began the curing, inspired by the supernatural powers of the Bald Eagle.

My father also had supernatural powers from a bear who lived at the Belly Buttes. This bear was sketched on one of my father's drums.

Willie White Feather's father, Morning Writing, slept at the Belly Buttes and the bear told him, "Give me a woman and I will have pity on you." But we were never sure if he succeeded in bringing a woman from the camp circle to sleep up at the Belly Buttes.

My father cures with the claw of the bear. [237]
*The bear also sang; he sang this song: "I am the
dream bear. The dream bear, it pitied me."* [755]

I knew all my father's songs. I used to drum [533]
for him during his curings.

My father licked red-hot stones with the help 755
of the powers of that bear. He would stick his forefinger in boiling water, then put his finger on the red-hot rock, and then touch his finger to the sick person's body. My father did that to me once. I was having a headache. He licked the rock, heated red-hot; then he licked me on my temple. His tongue was so hot I felt the heat as it went through my head.

My father would paint his bare right foot with sacred Earth and put his painted foot in boiling water, next put it on the red-hot rock and then put his foot down on where the pain hurts the sick person. If the person was dying, even if he was barely breathing and couldn't move anymore, when my father touched his foot on the person, the person would jump up.

Sometimes my father used the bear claw to [237]
*dig out Indian turnips [camas]. He chewed the
turnip and sprayed the person with it.* [824]

age they are dried after being crushed with 251
stones. The crushed cherries are formed into
small cakes, like cookies, which are placed on
small sticks or turned over regularly to keep
them from spoiling on one side while drying.

Preparing chokecherries properly is quite
an art. If they are not crushed sufficiently,
the unground stones, or pits, will make them
difficult to eat. Grease must be mixed with
the ground cherries to keep them from drying
too hard. They are stored in a bag made [415]
from a small animal skin whose open legs [237]
have been stuffed with wild mint; this keeps
the cherries from falling out and allows a [824]
little air to enter, preventing the contents
from becoming moldy.

Pemmican can be made by breaking up
dried cherry cakes and soaking them in a
bowl of water. When the cherries become
soft, the water is strained out. This water, [272]
known as chokecherry brew, is a popular
drink, especially in wintertime. The soaked
cherries are then mixed with fat (backfat is
popular because it does not cake up easily)
and pounded some more. The mixture is
then kneaded into small balls and served, or
placed into rawhide containers to be taken
along on hunting or war trips, as was the case
in the Old Days.

Chokecherry stems are used in a variety 824
of ways. Thin ones can be stuck into a roasting [252]
piece of meat to add flavor. Bark scrapings
are steeped to make a tea. Stems are also [272]
used for tipi pins or "buttons." Most bows [411]
and arrows were made of chokecherry wood.
Medicine Pipestems, tripods for sacred Bundles, [276]
and root-digging sticks are all made [417]
from the branches. The wood is so hard and
tough that it will not soak up water, and so is [412]
an excellent fire-starting wood after a hard [372]
rain.

ROSEBERRY (*Rosa acicularis*): The red pods 137
on wild rose bushes, also known as rose hips, 262

are "wild tomatoes" to our People. They are 137
usually gathered after the first frost. They 262
can be eaten fresh from the bush and were [222]
commonly used as an emergency food, since
they remain on the bushes through most of [261]
the winter. Eating the seeds, however, causes
an itchy rectum.

Rose hips meal can be made by boiling 252
fresh fruits, crushing them with fat, and [415]
cooking the mixture on a black plate (frying
pan). The meal is then sweetened and eaten.
They can also be boiled with a mixture of
flour and sweetening to make a soup. Occa-
sionally, they were used in place of other ber-
ries for making pemmican. They make an ex- [272]
cellent tea, which provides a good winter
source for vitamin C.

Other berries used by our People in the past 262
include strawberries, raspberries, and thimbleber- [252]
ries, all of which were eaten raw or used fresh in
soups and stews. Gooseberries, known as "punc- [272]
tured berries," were either eaten raw after they
ripened and turned purple or were cooked into
soups; their green leaves were boiled in sweetened
water to make a drink that was a favorite of chil-
dren. Oregon grapes, "blueberries," were eaten [251]
fresh, but only in small quantities due to their
strong, acidlike taste; they were sometimes boiled
and then dried for winter use. Silverberries were
sour and not popular for eating, but became a bit
sweeter during the winter. Because they stay on [261]
their bushes so long, they also served as an emer-
gency winter food; the inner layer of bark from
these willow bushes could be chopped up and
eaten. Bearberries were another emergency winter [252]
food; they could either be eaten raw or mashed
with fat and sweetened to be fried in round cakes.

Now let us talk about edible roots.

CAMAS (*Camassia quamash*): Due to the ap- 137
pearance of these roots, this plant is called [824]
mississa, or "excrement." The stem and

[p. 183-B]

leaves rise one to two feet above the bulb. 137
Found in moist meadows near the moun- [222]
tains, the plant is dug in the fall after its blue
flowers have fallen off.

In the Old Days, camas was prepared for 252
eating and storage by being baked in a pit. 251
After the pit was dug it was lined with flat
stones and a fire built over it. When the stones became hot, the coals and ashes were removed and replaced with grass, and the camas bulbs were piled on the grass. The bulbs were then covered with more grass, a layer of twigs, and a cover of earth, about four inches deep. On top of all this a fire was burned for two or three days, depending upon the quantity of camas in the pit.

When the pit was reopened, children gathered the twigs to suck the sweet juices of the roasted bulbs. The roasted bulbs were dried beneath Sun and placed in storage bags. It is said that they tasted like roasted chestnuts. Sometimes they were pounded with serviceberries before being dried.

WILD PARSLEY (*Lomatium simplex*): This 137
wild turnip, which grows deep and is hard to
unearth, is known as the "big turnip." Its
Plant grows one to two feet high and has
yellow flowers. The roots used to be dug up 222
with digging sticks made of oiled, fire- 412
hardened, and dried berry sticks or birch- [824]
wood. The ends of the sticks were held
against a piece of rawhide to protect the dig-
ger's stomach as she pushed the stick into the
ground with the weight of her body. After 252
they were gathered and peeled, these turnips 251
were eaten raw or roasted, or Sun-dried for
storage.

SQUAWROOT (*Perideria gairdneri*): Known as 137
the "double root," this plant grows from one 262
to three feet tall and has small, white flowers.
Like other roots, it could be eaten fresh, after
boiling, or dried for winter storage. A com- [252]
mon way to prepare it for eating was to boil

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it in animal blood and then add sweetening. 137

BITTERROOT (*Lewisia pygmaea*): Called 262
"looks like a white stick," this root is most
commonly found on the other side of the [252]
mountains from our country. The Old [263]
People considered this root to be very [261]
healthy, in spite of its terribly bitter taste. It
was dug up in the spring, as soon as the 222
flower buds appeared. The slender white 251
roots were peeled and dried. It was steamed 252
if fresh, or boiled and cooked in soups if
dried.

INDIAN BREADROOT (*Psoralea esculenta*): This 137
root was the main turnip used by our Old 262
People, which is why they called it *mahss*, or
"turnip"; but it is also known as "elk food." [824] ●
It grows all over our old country. These tur- 222
nips, which have a very pleasant taste, were
gathered shortly before the flowers dropped
off. They were peeled and eaten raw, or 252
roasted either over an open fire or directly in
the coals. For storage, they were peeled and 251
strung up to dry beneath Sun, and then often
coated with fat so that they would not become too hard during storage.

COW PARSNIP (*Heracleum lanatum*): This 137
plant, known to us as "wild rhubarb," grows 262
up to eight feet in height. The stalks were
gathered and eaten in the spring, while they 222
were tender. Our Old People thought of the 252
immature flower stalks as the "man stalk," 824
and simply peeled and roasted them for eating. The leaf stalks were called the "she
stalks"; these were peeled and split before
being roasted and eaten.

Roots of the wild rhubarb were split, cut 251
up, and dried for winter use. Sometimes they
were dipped in animal blood before being
dried. When prepared for meals, they were 252
boiled and sweetened.

CANADIAN MILK VETCH (*Astragalus canadensis*): Known as "tender root" because its 137 262
roots were commonly eaten raw, this root was 252

[p. 184-B] [824]

especially liked by children. The roots were 252
also dried for winter, when they were boiled 824
in blood or broth.

SPRING BEAUTY (*Claytonia lanceolata*): Be- 137
cause of its potatolike root, this plant is 262
known as "lumpy head." Two short and nar- [824]
row leaves and white-pink flowers grow up
from the root. Found on the prairies and in
the foothills, these roots were dug up in
spring and eaten fresh, boiled, or roasted.

NATURAL MEDICINES

Many plants are gathered for medical use. Here is 278
Atsitsina's introduction to his Teachings of these
plants:

Oki, I will tell you a little story of how my father, Natosina, used to get his doctoring medicines together.

For instance, If someone was hemorrhaging [757]
from the mouth, he would use a combination of
Gros Ventre scent (western meadow rue), sweet- [824]
grass, and white clay. The Gros Ventre scent had
to be still green. My mother would put these
plants in the oven for a long time, feeling and
checking them every once in a while. When they
were very soft she would take them out and crum-
ble them onto a piece of buckskin. When she
was finished, they looked like black pepper.

There was this white man we called Moun- 757
tain Chief. He was spitting blood and he asked 278
my father to make a brew for him. My father
made a small brew and prayed while he boiled it.
Then he told the man to drink it with the leaves
in it. He told him, "Don't lie to me. Tell me the
truth if you like it and if it works for you." He
drank it. A couple days later he was much better.
That man gave my father a horse, some cash, and [465]
other things for curing him.

When I used to ride horses, one time a horse 755
fell on me. My knee swelled up. My father told 752
my mother to get some thorns from a rose bush

and bake them. She baked them. He pushed some 755
hot thorns into my injured leg. I thought my leg 752
was going to break! He put a long stick into the
fire, and while it was burning he painted the
thorns with sacred yellow paint and sacred black
paint. Then he took the glowing red stick and
heated the thorns, which burned right down to
my skin. My leg felt like it was being held by
something Powerful. I couldn't move it at all.
The next day I was able to move my leg, but my
father said, "Today we will have the treatment
one more time." After the second treatment, the
swelling went down and I was able to walk. I
guess that was a form of what they call today
acupuncture.

Oki, now let me tell you about some of the 824
different things that grow. For instance, the "man-
sage" [prairie sage] is used by men, the "woman-
sage" [pasture sage] by women.

If a man has any kind of bad luck, he will use 824
the prairie sage to cleanse the evil from his body. 783
If a relative dies, a man will make incense with
the prairie sage and rub it over himself to cleanse
his body. They are pure growths from nature, so
they can clean away unpure things. If a man is
going to have a sweat lodge, he will sit on the
man-sage and he will chew some. This will purify
him.

Oki, there are all kinds of uses for this man- 824
sage. When they went on war raids they would
carry some leaves to chew on, so they wouldn't [827]
get out of breath. They chewed it for the same
reason when swimming. If a man has smelly feet [515]
he will put some leaves in his moccasins to make
the smell go away. He will boil some and wash
his hair in it. If his nose is bleeding, he will chew [757]
it and put it in his nose to stop the blood. If he
has body odor, he will put some under his arms [515]
and between his legs and the smell will go away. [757]
If he has the itch, he will boil some and put it on
whatever place is itching. A man will put in a few [783]
leaves of man-sage in any kind of curing brew to
purify it. In the Old Days, men put bunches of

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man-sage in the nose and mouth of their kill to 824
purify. That makes the meat taste good. Any [783]
offering we make to Sun includes man-sage.

Oki, a woman uses woman-sage in the same [782]
way. A handsome woman will bathe with it and [515]
use it in her hair. For an easy birth, she will chew
on it. She will use it for perfume and to keep [844]
herself from sickness. [302]

Oki, my father always prayed while picking [751]
medicine plants. He kept all his curing medicines
tied up in little buckskin pouches. There was no 278
writing on them; he used different-colored beads [415]
to tell apart the few bags he didn't know by the
way they looked and smelled. Sometimes he [211]
would show them to me and say, "I will use this
for coughing, and this for hemorrhaging, and this
for swelling." He put sage in with them to keep
them pure. My father taught me a lot of his medicines, but I have lost most of them. Nobody was
interested, so I have lost [forgotten] many of
them.

The following list will tell you about some of 278
the plants used as natural medicines by our 824
People. The given uses were commonly known in [178]
the past, and are still relied on, at times, today. Many more uses were known only by certain persons in the Old Days.

ALUMROOT (*Heuchera americana*): A plant [137]
with blue flowers and many roots, it's called "dry root" by our Old People. It used to have a number of medicinal uses.

The roots could be boiled and drunk hot 757
for stomachaches, cramps, diarrhea, and sore throats. Cooled, the brew served as a wash for sore eyes. The leaves themselves could be chewed and applied to sores and swollen places.

Even horses benefited from its curing 232
powers. A horse with a cough would be thrown down and tied, and the root-brew poured into a tube stuck into its mouth. To treat their saddle sores, the plant leaves would be mixed with fat and boiled in water.

[P.186-A]

would be mixed with fat and boiled in water. 000
BANEBERRY (*Actaea rubra*): There are two 824
species of this plant; one bears red berries,
the other, white. Both types of berries are 757
poisonous. But the roots, known as "black
roots," were prepared to make a potent brew
for coughs and colds.

BEARDTONGUE (*Penstemon*): Because of its 824
flavor, this plant has come to be known as
"tastes like fire." Its brew was used to treat 757
stomachaches and cramps, as well as vomiting.

BEAR GRASS (*Yucca glauca*): Also known as 824
yucca and soapweed, our People call this plant
"sharp vine." The roots were boiled in water 171
and used as a hair wash in ceremonies of
tribes in the south. Physical breaks and 752
sprains were bathed in the steam of grated
roots boiling in water. The roots were also
used as an antiseptic on cuts.

BERRIES: Some of the same berries used for 757
food were also used for medicine. Serviceberries,
for instance, were brewed to doctor
people with stomachaches and liver troubles,
even though too many serviceberries in one
sitting could create stomach problems in
themselves! The juice of ripe berries is still 752
good for bloodshot eyes and flushing out foreign
particles in eyes.

Chokecherry twigs were chewed to elim- 828
inate one's desire to smoke. 824

Gooseberry roots, gathered and boiled
into a solution, treated various body odors— 824
bad-smelling hair, stinky feet and armpits, 515
and even bad-smelling ears. The offensive
area was simply washed with the solution.

Strawberry leaves were brewed to be 757
used as a wash for sore eyes. 824

Oregon grapes were boiled into a brew
for sore kidneys. The bark of the root was
used in a decoction for stomach troubles,
mountain fever, kidney aches, and sometimes
hemorrhages.

Rose hips, soaked in warm water, were

[p. 186-B]

applied as a poultice to boils. Covered with a 757
bandage, the seeds dried up the boil, which 824
pulled off when the bandage was removed.
The roots of the rose bush could be brewed
into a bitter, red-colored drink to treat diarrhea.

CUT-LEAVED ANEMONE (*Anemone multifida*): 824
This plant is called "looks-like-a-plume," because of the wooly tops of its fruiting heads.
This wooly material was burned on a hot coal 757
and inhaled for headaches.

INDIAN HEMP (*Apocynum cannabinum*): 824
Known as "little blanket" or "many spears,"
this plant is usually found in dense brush and
on high cliffs. The roots were brewed to 757
make a laxative or a hair wash. The dried 515
leaves were sometimes smoked. 276

LARKSPUR (*Delphinium*): Known as "blue 824
leaves," the leaves were brewed for kidney 757
troubles; the brew also made a good eyewash.

LOCOWEED (*Oxytropis*): These plants are known as "rattle sounds," because the ripe seeds inside the pods rattle in the wind. The leaves were chewed and the juice swallowed for sore throats and for coughing spasms in children. A brew was also made to treat sores on the head.

MINT (*Mentha arvensis*): The leaves of wild 824
mint, or "strong smell," are still brewed into 757
a popular tea, which is especially good for [272]
upset stomachs. When chewed and swallowed, the leaves are effective for chest pains.

OWL CLOVER (*Orthocarpus luteus*): These 824
plants were given the name "dye" because 386
they were boiled with porcupine quills,
feathers, and skins to dye them red. The blue 757
seed pods that form after the yellow leaves 824
fall off were boiled into a drink and given to
adults with chest pains and to children with
constipation.

PRAIRIE CROCUS (*Anemone patens*): This 824
plant came to be known as "early old man,"
because it matures and dries up quickly. The 844
small root of the plant is still brewed and 847
757

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drunk to ease delivery at birth or to bring on 844
an abortion. The crushed leaves used to be 847
bound to itchy parts of the body. 757

PRAIRIE SMOKE (*Geum triflorum*): Called
"lying on its belly" because its roots grow 824
along close to the ground, it is still dug up, 757
scraped, washed, and then crushed and 752
boiled to treat sore throats, as well as sore, swollen, or snow-blinded eyes. The roots can be crushed and mixed with melted grease to treat sore gums, or mixed with melted kidney fat as a drink to treat ulcers. This kidney fat mixture can be applied to body sores such as chapped lips, blisters from riding, and sore nipples from nursing. The leaves are also
brewed for a person spitting blood. Finally, 303
ripe seeds gathered from the white flowers can be crushed to make a perfume.

PUFFBALLS: Known as "dusty stars," these
fungi are thought to be the remnants of 821
fallen stars, which dot the Prairies. The puffy 824
substance, used to catch sparks, was an essential 372
part of fire-making kits. Puffballs were
also held against bleeding noses to stop the 757
flow, and applied to cuts on horses. The 232
yellow contents were brewed for a drink to 757
treat hemorrhage. They were also used as a compress for hemorrhoids, and by women while menstruating.

SAGE (*Artemisia gnaphalodes*): "Man-sage" had many uses in addition to those already
cited by Atsitsina. The basis of a decoction 824
for treating coughs, its leaves could be [757]
chewed to stimulate appetite. It was also a [261]
main source of "toilet paper" in the Old
Days. Burning leaves created a smudge to [514]
drive away flies and mosquitoes; soft leaves [751]
placed in nostrils checked bleeding. And it [757]
sometimes was added to dried meat for seasoning, although it was not actually eaten. [263]

SAGE (*Artemisia frigida*): "Woman-sage," [137]
which grows together with man-sage, was
used by women in the same way men used [841]
man-sage, except that women used it addi-

tionally as padding during menstruation; it 824
was said to keep the skin from chafing. [841]

Horses with back sores can often be seen
rolling in patches of sage to treat themselves.
Tops of this sage used to be brewed to treat [757]
heartburn and mountain fever.

SILVERWEED (*Potentilla anserina*): The roots 824
of this vinelike plant, known as "garters," 752
were chewed and applied to sores on children's
bodies, after swimming. When the
children dried off, the sores also dried, and
the scabs could be brushed off.

SILVERY LUPINE (*Lupinus argenteus*): This 824
plant, called "wolf turnip," has mildly hairy
leaves that were used in several ways. They 757
were brewed and drunk for coughs and for 824
gas pains, causing the stomach to expel the
gas. A person with painful hiccups can be
given a mouthful to swallow while stretching
the neck and plugging up the ears. The 232
leaves are boiled and sprayed on horses' sores 824
where flies gather.

SNOWBERRY (*Symphoricarpos occidentalis*): 824
A common shrub with white berries called 841
"white weasel eyes," this plant's yellow roots
were the base of a decoction made to stop
the heavy flow of a menstruating woman.

SQUAWROOT (*Perideridia gairdneri*): The 824
"double root" was used for medicine as well
as for food. It was chewed and swallowed for 757
sore throats. A strong brew, made for kidney
ailments, could also be poured into the nostrils
of people and horses to treat catarrh.
The chewed root also lent itself as a poultice
for swollen parts of the body.

SWEET CICELY (*Osmorhiza chilensis*): 824
Known as "smell root" and similar names, 757
this plant's brew treated coughs, colds, and
pneumonia. It was force-fed to mares in 232
winter to prepare them for foaling.

SWEETGRASS (*Hierochloe odorata*): We call 824
this plant *sepatsemo*, or "fragrant smell." [137]
This, our most common incense, was added [778]

[p. 188-A] [782]
[515]
[757]

to many medicine mixtures because of its sa- 824
credness. Boiled in water, it made a hair [778]
wash; chewed, it would be applied to swell- [782]
ings. It looks much like other grasses, but can [778]
be distinguished by the reddish color near its
base. [515]

VIOLET (*Viola adunca*): Called "blue [757]
mouth," its leaves were chewed and used as a
poultice; it could also be made into a brew 824
for a child having difficulty breathing. 752

WESTERN MEADOW RUE (*Thalictrum occiden-* 827
tale): This plant was named "Gros Ventre 824
scent" because it was most commonly found in
the country of that tribe. Used as a perfume, 302
the leaves could also be powdered and placed 232
in horses' noses to make them long-winded.

WESTERN WILD PARSLEY (*Lomatium simplex*):
This is the "big turnip" that was used mostly 824
as food. As a medicine, the root was 752
chewed and placed as a poultice with a 757
heated cloth on bloodshot eyes. This poultice
also treated sores in the mouth and ears, as
well as earaches and swollen ears. A brew was
made from it for chest pains.

WHITLOW GRASS (*Draba verna*): Because the 824
stem of this plant rises from a circle of small
leaves, it is called "center grass." The roots 747
of this plant were made into a bitter drink to
bring on abortion.

WILD BERGAMOT (*Monarda fistulosa*): This 824
plant is called "singly young man." The blos- 757
soms could be brewed to make an eyewash,
or else both leaves and blossoms were brewed
together for stomachaches.

WILLOW (*Salix*): The great variety of willows
are generally called "what they bring," refer-
ring to their ceremonial use during the Medi- 824
cine Lodge sweat baths. The deep roots of [757]
these bushes were cut into pieces and dried, [232]
and from that a brew was made for hemor-
rhage, difficult breathing, dandruff, and
bloodshot eyes in people and horses. Boiled 515
with kidney fat, the mixture was used as a 826

wash by people with curly and kinky hair to 515
cure what they considered their undesirable 826
appearance.

YARROW (*Achillea millefolium*): This plant 824 ●
was also called "having a pine stem."
Chewed white flowers were used to poultice 757
swellings, including mumps. Leaves were
brewed for liver ailments and hemorrhages,
and horses with sore eyes. Several cups of the 844
brew were said to help speed up labor during
childbirth. The leaves were sometimes used 782
for a special incense during Beaver Bundle
transfer ceremonies.

OTHER USES OF PLANTS

Besides food and medicine, our Old People found 824
many day-to-day uses for various parts of plants.

TOBACCO that our Old People smoked was a 276
mixture of commercial tobacco and the [137]
leaves of the bearberry plant (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*). This plant was also called *kinnikinick*, "that which is mixed." Although it grows on the prairies, only the mountain variety is used for smoking; the prairie kind smells like grass when it is burned.

Bearberry leaves can be picked from their low-growing shrub throughout the year. The leaves are separated from the stems, and then dried, crushed, and mixed for smoking. They are more properly prepared by first washing, to remove the bitter taste, then greased with kidney fat and placed in an oven to dry. This is called "frying your kinnikinick." The fried leaves are placed in a [415]
cloth bag and crushed into smaller pieces, which are then stored in special bags made from the skins of unborn fawns and buffalo calves.

BEADS were made from the dried fruits of a 824
number of plants, including silverberries, rose
hips, and juniper berries. These beads were [531]

once used to decorate buckskin clothing, before 824
traders brought glass beads to our [531]
People. Berries, too, were often strung to
make necklaces and wristlets. They were [301]
made in this way: A fire was started with dry wood, then grease was dropped on the wood. The necklaces and wristlets were held in the greasy smoke until they were covered with an even layer of dark grease. Then they were polished with a soft piece of buckskin to a very pleasant finish.

Berry stones were also placed inside rawhide rattles. [534]

DYES were made from a number of plants: [386]
owl clover made red; violet flowers made blue; some lichens were used to make green; and the roots of the Oregon grape, yellow.

Plants also provided stuffing for pillows and saddles, and carpeting inside of tipis. Uses for their various woods ranged from fire fuel and holding up lodge covers to making bows, arrows, and traps.

BIRDS AND ANIMALS

Because the Old People lived their days with the 825
birds and animals, the names they called them generally summarized an outstanding trait or characteristic. Some birds and animals are named for their similarity to others, often indicated by the prefix *big*.

This first list concerns the names of birds.

BIRD: The general word for bird is *piksi*, although 825
the exact meaning has been lost. Small birds are *sistsi*; very small birds are *poksistsi*.

EAGLE: There are two kinds, the golden eagle and the bald-headed eagle. *Pitai* designates the golden eagle; *ksikichkinni*, or "white head," the bald eagle.

HAWK: The hawks as a group are *aiinnimaiaks*, or "seizers." The large rough-legged

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

to end. With slow and deliberate motions this 575
part was performed. Gathering up the whole strip 796
in a bunch in his hand, the old instructor passed 432
it 4 times to the altar and then tied one end
securely to the extremity of the crook. He then
proceeded to wind the fur spirally and closely
down the length of the staff covering the wood
completely. None of the fur was allowed to touch
the ground during the operation. At the lower [237]
end, 4 foot of the pole, the wrapping was fastened [324] ●
again, and against it was bound some braided and
dried grass used by this Society for incense and a
dried bladder bag of the buffalo.

Running Wolf's crook was wrapped with [237]
white swan's skin, the others with otter. All the fur was about one inch in width. All of the long staffs and the spear were wrapped as described, each with the grass and bladders at the bottom. At the end of each crook and at three places down its length was tied a bunch of two eagle feathers, the spear alone had a 4 or 5 inch strip of black and white cotton tied loosely to its full length. The wife of the chief of the outgoing members now took the swan-covered staff, and wearing a small horned head dress also of white swan skin, she walked over and took up a position near the entrance but facing inwards. She also carried in her arms a bundle of clothing rolled in a blanket. Bear Back Bone next got up, wearing nothing but a breech cloth and moccasins, and stooping low, with a slow and solemn pace, he approached the woman; close behind him walked Running Wolf, also stooping or rather hiding behind the others. When Bear Back Bone [the name was actually Bear Shin Bone] reached the squaw, he straightened up to his height and, after reverently passing his hands from the top of her head to the shoulders, he kissed her upon the left cheek. She then handed him the pole and head-dress. Running Wolf next lifted his head up and with same solemn pass with the hands also kissed her and received from her the bundle of clothing. They slowly returned to their place in the circle,

[p. 205-B]

159
Lighter's Staff, and the Blackfoot Rider's Staff. 852
[George only painted for some of these Bundles.] 778

In one day I took four Medicine hats. My face 425
was painted and wiped and then repainted again, [302]
four times, as I went through four ceremonies in
one day. [He means that when he was young,
four different Medicine headdresses were transferred
to him in one day. Thus, his parents spoiled [855]
their only child in a socially acceptable way.]

My father's name was Dog Child. My mother's 551
name was The Only Handsome Woman; her 553
other name was Catching Another Horse, but she 159
was never called by that name. She was one of three sisters, and her mother said she was the only handsome woman. So that became her name. My father's name used to be Singing Amongst, but he changed that. My name was given to me from the war deeds of my uncle, Striped Wolf. He was the first one to ride a horse taken from the enemy. So I got the name First Rider. I didn't have the same name with my father. [Most of our People today carry the names of former relatives as their inherited family names. But they also have one or more personal, Indian names by which they are referred to in the Blackfoot language.]
159

I was born with long hair. My mother used 956
Indian perfume—boiled cedar needles—to wet [302]
my hair. That is why I got long hair.

I must have been about five years old when I [824]
was able to go riding on my own.
159

When I was a little boy I was taken to the [857]
Holy Lodge. I had two grandmothers [older female [852]
relatives, not necessarily biological grandmothers]. [602]
They each one gave me a Sun Dance necklace, [431]
my childhood property. I must have been eight years old when a horned Medicine headdress was given to me.

When I was thirteen years old I started riding 883
racehorses. I was sixteen years old when I started 526
to learn bronc riding. But soon my father made 159
me quit. He said, "There is no future in it. It is [829]
the white man's life. An Indian will compete in a

in front of us, were several herds of buffalo and 726
antelope. Said one of our party: "If we only had [252]
the meat of one of them, how safely we could
broil it with this smokeless bark." He pointed to [829]
the dead, dry bark of a fallen cottonwood. [372]

Said another: "The animals are all quiet;
there seems to be no enemy war party hereabout; 726
let us go out there and make a killing." 224

"No. We will take no chances; no risks whatever. Quiet though it seems to be out there, somewhere, hidden from us, a large enemy party may also be hungrily looking at the herds," I said.

"We cannot travel without food. As you will not allow us to go out there and make a killing, just you make some of the animals come right in here," said another, Bear Bones [Bear Shin Bone], who was always cross, always complaining, but a brave, successful man of many war trails.

"I will try to bring some of them in," I an- 726
swered, and had Wolf Plume hand me my medi- 224
cine-pipe roll. I did not expose the pipe. Simply 789
held the roll up to the Sky and prayed to Sun, Thunder Bird, and Ancient Raven, to make food come to us.

We watched the herds; particularly the one nearest us, a small herd of buffalo, all of them save one old cow, lying down and chewing again the grass with which they had filled themselves. The cow was standing with lowered head, motionless, asleep on her feet. But now she raised her head, stretched out her legs, shook herself, and started slowly walking toward us. Up rose the herd then, two or three at first, then all the others, and in single file came on behind her. And I said to the cross one: "There, Bear Bones, as you asked so have I done with the help of my
medicine. And now you do the killing. Not with [411]
your gun, but with your silent bow and arrows."

"Yes," he answered.

"A fat one. A cow without calf, or a one-winter or two-winters one," said I.

All of my party were looking at me, thinking [554]
that I had great favor with the Above Ones; that

[p. 258-B]

signaled to his partners that the three were enemies. 726 They fired off a volley, killing one enemy [201] and wounding another. Many Mules caught the wounded one and killed him, while the third man tried to escape. Heavy Shield had a fast horse and chased him. The others were shouting to him, "He hasn't shot his gun yet! Watch out for him!" Heavy Shield had already fired his gun and did [411] not have a chance to reload it. He was armed only [237] with his knife and his favorite elk-horn whip.

Heavy Shield caught up with the Cree and rode alongside of him. The Cree leveled his rifle across his saddle and fired. The bullet tore the feathers off Heavy Shield's Medicine Bird, which was hanging from a thong at his side. Many Mules caught up to the two and jerked the gun from the Cree's hand. The Cree then took a hatchet attached to the horn of his saddle, which was a real saddle, and tried to hit Heavy Shield with it. By this time Running Sun had also caught up to them and knocked the hatchet from the enemy's hand and captured it. Heavy Shield and the Cree were still riding along, trying to knock each other off their horses. Heavy Shield stuffed the end of his whip into his enemy's mouth while the latter grabbed one of Heavy Shield's braids. At this point their horses separated and both men fell to the ground. Before the Cree could get up to resume the fight, Gambler came along and ran over him with his horse and someone else counted coup on him.

TOUGH BREAD, A DOCTOR WHO USED ACUPUNCTURE

A well-remembered doctor who lived well into 756 this century was a man named Pastahmp—"Flint." [551] Somehow his name was misinterpreted and recorded as Tough Bread, by which he became com- [553] monly known. His daughter is Porcupine Woman, who is the wife of Bob Black Plume, or Skunk.

He used thorns from rose bushes to draw the 755 sickness out of bodies. He put those thorns all [824]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279-A]

[p. 277-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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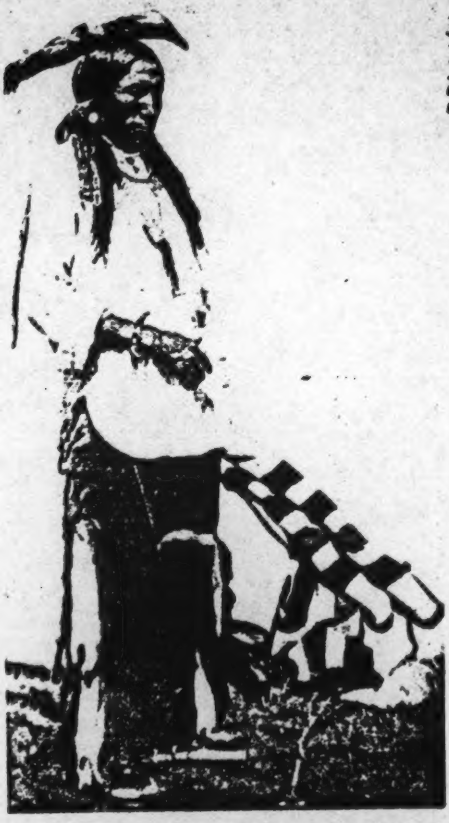
142
301
302
291
714



Young Pine wearing his war Medicines. On his head is the stuffed body of a raven, which was given to him in a dream. Another dream Medicine, the skin of a blackbird, is tied to his hair lower down. Around his neck he wears an iron necklace, obtained in trade, and an Iniskim necklace with a piece of cottonwood punk attached for incense. Around his wrist is a bear claw bracelet.

[778]
[237]
[787]
[439]
[824]

[p. 297-A]

excitement and shooting that some of our horses 000
stampeded out of the camp. I became a member 796
of the Crazy Dogs Society at that time. I stayed 177
with my relatives at my uncle's lodge until the 657
Medicine Lodge ceremony, when we had a lot
of trouble with the Mounties. The Mounties [575]
wanted to arrest Calf Robe again, because he had threatened them with a gun the first time they arrested him. Calf Robe decided to make up for not fighting in the battle with us, so he fought the Mounties in the Medicine Lodge, and the Mounties got beat up pretty bad. And that is the end of my story.

THE FIGHT IN THE MEDICINE LODGE IN 1889

The incident in which the Mounties tried to arrest Calf Robe inside the Medicine Lodge is talked about by our Old People as "the time we had a war with the Red Coats." Some of our People thought that the Mounties came to stop our men from performing the self-torture ceremony.

Two men underwent that ceremony in 1889, Heavy Head and Tough Bread. However, the Mounties did not arrive until the day after this took place.

Here is how Grandma AnadaAki remembers 796
her stepfather Heavy Head's story of his self- 785
torture and what followed:

My father said that he went through the [292]
torture barefooted and without any clothes except
a breechcloth. They cut him in the tipi where the
holy woman stays. He said that other men were
usually cut in the Medicine Lodge. He said that
somebody told him to ask for deep cuts, so that
they would not cut very deep. They painted him [302]
all over with sacred white clay, and designs were [778]
painted on his face with red paint and black
paint. They tied sage around his wrists and his [824]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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ankles. When they cut him, he said that he felt 776
like his heart was being cut out of his body. His 785
body was all bloody by the time they got him [824]●
fixed up. They even cut his back and tied a shield
to it.

From the holy woman's tipi he was made to [535]
dance to the Medicine Lodge. The wind blew on [152]
his wounds and caused him so much pain that
he cried all the way there. When he got inside he [782]
hugged the Center Pole and prayed, then he
leaned back on the ropes that somebody tied
from the top of the Pole to his chest. He leaned [533]
back real hard and jumped up and down and
sideways while the drummers sang a song. He
said that he jumped real hard because the pain
was so bad that he wanted to tear the ropes off
fast, but they didn't tear out. Black Eagle took
a stick and hit the rope hard and the skin broke
on that side. But my dad stopped him from hitting
the other side because of the pain. Big Wolf
grabbed him by his hair and pulled him back so
hard that the other side broke. Black Eagle was [555]
counting some coups so that he could cut the
loose skin off my dad's body. He cut the skin off [752]
and he put gunpowder on the wounds. After that
my dad was sent away to sleep and look for a vision.
That was when they had the riot inside the
Medicine Lodge.

My father said that he walked westward from
the camp until he came to the Belly River where
he slept on top of a cutbank. He could hardly
sleep that night from all the pain of his wounds.
The next day he was walking around by the river
when his relatives found him. They warned him
not to walk back into the middle of the trouble at
the Medicine Lodge. By the time they all got 776
back home together the trouble was over and the 657
People were packing up their camps to go home. 177
The men were angry and had their guns all ready
in case the Mounties came back to fight again.
Some of the Mounties had gone into the Medicine
Lodge to arrest old Calf Robe while the
men were just in there telling war stories. Those

sacred Bundle that they depend on [for spiritual 796
strength]. That is how the participants will com- 533
plete their singing in the first round.

After this they will sing a second round—that will make eight songs. They will sing of the miscellaneous Bundles, like tipis, that were transferred to them. First they sing of the Medicine Pipes, the Horns Society, and if a person owned a Beaver Bundle, he will sing of his Water Pipe Bundle [another name for a Beaver Bundle]. They also sing of their tipi designs, and Sun Dance necklaces, and Medicine Pipe necklaces, Weasel Tail suits, Medicine headdresses, All Brave Dog Society. They'll sing of all their miscellaneous Bundles that were transferred to them. That is why the singing takes so long.

Robert Wilson attended several Nighttime 796
ceremonies during the 1890s. Those differed in 114
some details from the similar ceremonies of today,
as well as others of the same period. Most of our [778]
Medicines were then still with us and numerous [425]
people had owned enough Medicines to sing at
least sixteen songs. Today, only a few have owned [177]
enough Medicines to sing four rounds of songs, and most of these have never learned to sing all of their own songs, so they ask the leader of the ceremony for help.

Here are Wilson's observations.

NOTES ON SACRIFICIAL CEREMONY

Feb. 26

One Spots Lodge, 15 people in the lodge, 796
nearly all men. At the usual spot in the lodge was [778]
the altar, made in shape of a mound of clay about 4 inches high, an elongated cone. Opposite the door and in front of the altar was a space afterwards occupied by Old Moon [Ki-soum, or Sun,
who was the leader of this ceremony]. Between [237]
his seat and the altar was a pile of cow chips and
spread on top of them was a lot of wild sage, two [824]●
eagle feathers, and some little paint bags. Incense

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

I began my preparations by pouring some 796
fine earth from a paper bag onto a small board. [778]
This was to be the incense altar. The layer of dirt
was the thickness of two hands and "mirror-shaped," as the Old People call a rectangle. At the end closest to the Old Man was a higher ridge of earth, which caused the complete altar to look like a made-up bed with pillows.

The Old Man arrived with his brother, Mike [276]
Yellow Bull, who cut the tobacco and filled the
pipes. After a brief glance in the ceremonial room, he asked, "Everything is not yet ready?" I answered, "Almost." He asked me to get him a chair so he could sit and have a smoke while I finished the preparations.

I leaned some bunches of man-sage against [237]
the head of the altar and placed two pieces of
dung next to them. On the brass-studded tobacco [824] ●
cutting board, I placed some prepared bearberry [276]
leaves and commercial tobacco. Then I brought
in the Old Man's bag of ceremonial articles and arranged them in place. I laid the wooden incense tongs to the right of the altar and some braids of sweetgrass to the left. I also put down two sharpened willow sticks for lighting the pipes, and a long piece of wire for cleaning the stems.

I guided the Old Man to his seat in the ceremonial room. It is not proper for anyone to sit [576]
until the leader has assigned each person a place.
The place to the right of the leader is for the

[p. 351-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

Then, while we sat waiting for the others to 886
arrive, Atsitsina asked the Old Man, "Omach-
Kinna [Old Man], why don't you tell our grand-
son the secret for reaching old age? Maybe he will
tell me, and then I will become as old as you
are."

The Old Man kept looking at the altar for a 791
time, then he began to speak: 787
852

My parents took me to an old holy woman
who had a lot of Power. She was the one who
foresaw that I would reach old age. Her name
was Otter Woman. She told my parents, "This
boy will reach old age. I have foreseen it. But he
will have to face a test right now to prove that
he is the right one. Do you wish to risk his life to
have him meet this test?" My parents had a lot
of faith in that old woman's Power, so they told
her, "Yes, go ahead."

I was only about five months old when all
this took place. The old woman began by piercing [237]
my ears with porcupine quills. Next, she buried
me under the earth; I was not told how deep, but
she must have left my face free so that I could
keep breathing. Then she built a fire of dry cot- [372]
tonwood sticks over my body. She told my parents [824] ●
that the Earth Powers would protect me from
harm if I was the one in her dreams. No harm
came to me. Then she bundled me up in blankets
and tied me into the branches of a tree. She and
my parents stood below and mourned for me as
though I were dead. She told them that from [776]
then on, the Spirits of death would be satisfied
and would not come to bother me with misfor-
tune. When they brought me down from the tree
she told my parents, "This boy has proved that he
is the one who will have the Powers I saw in my
dream. He will belong to Sun from now on. Sun
will care for him and he will have the Power to
help his People."

Then the old woman prayed: "Sun, I give 791
you this boy so that you will guide him like I 852
304
782
787

[p. 352-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

saw in my dream. Here is a part of him to prove 791
that we are sincere and that he will always remember 852
you." That old woman took out her 304
knife and cut off the end of my little finger from 782
my left hand, you can see where it is missing, and 787
she left the end of my finger out there on the prairie as an offering. That is when I was first told that I would have old age.

After the Old Man's story, we sat quietly for 765
a while. Then Atsitsina remarked that he had not 783
yet been purified for the recent death in his family. He could not attend a holy ceremony until he symbolically cast the Spirit of death away from
himself. He asked me to step outside with him [824]
and to bring along a few leaves of sage from the bunches by the altar. He had already taught me
what to do to purify someone in our Old Way. I [782]
rolled the sage leaves into a small ball between my palms and prayed, asking for help that Atsitsina may forget what has happened and go on with the Good Spirits again. Four times I prayed and asked the various Powers to give him strength and encouragement, and then I handed him the ball of sage. He prayed and brushed his body four times with it, then told the sage to take the evil from his body as he cast it away toward the east, the direction of the new day.

A truck arrived bringing SikskiAki's parents 796
and our two boys. Wolf Child quietly walked into [493]
the room and sat by me. The Old Man squinted
to see who it was, then greeted Wolf Child: [576]
"Ahhh, Makwi Poka, shake hands!" The Old Man was very fond of Wolf Child. The boy prayed enthusiastically and made hand signs while trying to sing along with our holy songs.

NinnaOnesta and his wife arrived with a box full of bowls, utensils, pipe and blankets, and two cushions—in case our seating proved uncomfortable. The Old Man gave NinnaOnesta a seat on the far left, where he usually sits to call out his raiding exploits.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

By the time it was dark, all had arrived for 796
the ceremony, having been dropped off by young
relatives. In the Old Days, ten to twenty participants [177]
could be expected for a Nighttime ceremony,
but today only half as many showed up.

When all were seated, the relatives in the 796
kitchen started passing out the food. Each bowl 431
was filled with chunks of boiled meat, eggs,
oranges, apples, rolls, and fresh-baked cookies. [262]
Most of the food was to be taken home in paper [415]
bags for the Old People's grandchildren.

Each of us took a small piece of meat be- 796
tween our first two fingers. The Old Man handed 782
the incense tongs to the orderly, SikskiAki's young nephew, who took a coal from the wood stove and deposited it in the middle of the earth altar. The Old Man sprinkled sweetgrass on the coal, guided by my hand. As the sweet-smelling smoke rose he held his piece of meat into the air and began a prayer:

HiYo holy Spirits, help us as we are gathered with you again. Hear our prayers tonight. Hear the songs that we will sing for you. Give us your Power and help our children and our grandchildren. . . .

To conclude his prayer he placed the meat as an offering at the edge of the altar and said, "Oki, Earth Spirits, take this food and bless my life so that I will always have enough to eat." All of us joined him in praying out loud and we passed him our pieces of meat which he deposited as offerings to our Earth Mother.

Then we ate a little of the food before we took a break and went outside.

After we returned, we got settled to begin 796
the first part of the ceremony. Incense was made 788
first. Then the Old Man took some of the sage
from in front of the altar and peeled the leaves [824]
from the stems. He coated his hands with kidney [237]
fat and mixed it with sacred red earth. Then he [782]
rolled the leaves into a ball, all the while praying

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

to remind us of the Powers of Earth and all that 796
grows upon it. When the ball was ready, he 788
turned toward me and dropped it into my cupped [782]
hands. I rolled the ball between my palms and
then brushed it, slowly, twice down each side of [783]
my body, while praying to ask that the cleansing
Spirits of the sage purify my body and replace any
evil in it with the natural goodness of the Earth.
When I finished, I passed the sage sacrament to
the person at my left, and so it went around the
room. More incense was made, and then the [782]
young helper was instructed to go out and bring
in the offering. He covered himself with his blanket [292]
for this sacred duty, and went out to bring in
the holy object from its quiet, sacred resting
place.

The object represents the Spirits who are 796
with us, in our life here on Earth. Fastened to it 782
are symbols that recall to everyone the Powers of 778
the Universe. For instance, the frame of the offering
is made of two willow sticks tied together in [924] ●
the shape of a cross; the willows represent trees [823]
and bushes, as well as the material from which we
build our sweat lodges; and the cross the sticks are
tied in stands for the junction of the four sacred
directions, which is the place where we stand,
each of us, no matter where on this Earth we are.
Fastened on top of the cross, the willow stick tied [772]
to form a circle speaks for the roundness of our
Sun, our Moon, and our Universe, the sacred
circle in whose honor we arrange our lodges and
our camps. Fastened to the circle are seven black- [237]
and-white eagle feathers. Seven is our sacred [801]
number, as there are seven moons in each season,
and seven stars help us tell time at night and
remind us of all the other stars in the nighttime
sky; the feathers are black-and-white to remind us
of day and night, good and bad, life and death.
Bunches of sage are tied to the ends of the arms [824]
on the cross because sage is pure and holy in the
prairie-life of our Old Ways, and represents the
sacredness of all the plants on Earth. Black and
red pieces of cloth are tied to the arms of the
offering with buckskin thongs; the thongs remind

[p.354-A]

22: Wissler & Duvall E,I-5 (1902-1907) 1908
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II. STAR MYTHS.

539

1. The Twin Brothers, or Stars.[1]

A long time ago there was a man by the name of Smart-Crow. When he travelled, he always went by himself. One day after he was married he told his wife that in the future two children would be born to them, both boys. He predicted that one of them would be an outlaw (?) and the other a good man. Smart Crow knew this, because a Crow had given him the information in a dream. This Crow also told him, that, before his two children were born, an evil man would try to kill their mother. The Crow told the man that he must warn his wife. It said, "This man will come to the lodge when you are away, and ask to come inside. Your wife must say nothing to him. He will repeat the visit four nights." The next time Smart-Crow went out to hunt, he told his wife about this dream, and warned her not to speak to the strange man.

While Smart-Crow was away, the strange man came and stood before the lodge. After a while the woman thought to herself, "Why does not this man come in?" Now, the stranger had great power. He read the woman's thoughts, and, as soon as she thought this, the man answered by saying, "I will tell you why." So he entered the lodge and sat down, saying as he did so, "I knew you wished me to come in." Now the woman began to cook some meat for the stranger, and when it was ready, she put it in some wooden bowls, and placed it before him. There were four kinds of bowls in the house. Some were made of hard knots of wood; some, of bark; some, of buffalo-horn; and some, of mountain-sheep horn. After the woman had cooked the meat, she placed it before the stranger in a wooden bowl. The stranger looked at it and said, "That is not the kind of bowl from which I take my food." Then the woman took the food, and, putting it into a bark bowl, offered it to him again. "No," he said, "I do not take my food from bark." So the woman took the food, placed it in a bowl of buffalo-horn, and offered it to him for the third time. Again he refused, saying that he did not take food from horns. The woman took back the food, and, putting it in a bowl of sheep-horn placed it before him; but he refused to take food in such a dish. Now the woman was troubled, and looked about the lodge for something in which to serve the food. Finally she saw a piece from the horn of a moose, and offered him food upon it

[824]
[821]

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[1] Sometimes spoken of as the Origin of the Four-Tail Lodge; also spoken of as the Dusty Stars, or Puff-Balls. The Blackfoot have a curious belief that certain kinds of fungi are associated with the stars. Sometimes these fungi are spoken of as the "fallen stars." See pp. 19, 42, 44, 60.

PROGRAM BY DAYS.

796 *First Day.* The program opens with moving camp to a site previously
[785] selected. On the morning of this day, the medicine woman begins to fast,
which may be taken as the real beginning of the ceremony. If the ceremony
[782] of "cutting the tongues" has not been previously performed or completed,
[533] it is now in order. In any event, the father and any male assistants he may
choose to invite, spend a part of the day in "praying and singing over the
[343] tongues." A society brings in willows and a hundred-willow sweathouse is
built.

Second Day. In the morning, the camp moves again to a site still
[824] nearer that proposed for the sun dance. A few green boughs of cottonwood
[343] are kept around the base of the medicine woman's tipi as a sign of its sanctity.
[782] A sweathouse is made, as on the previous day. "Praying and singing over
[533] the tongues" continues during the day and evening.

Third Day. The same as the second day.

Fourth Day. The camp moves again; this time to the site of the sun
[343] dance. In the afternoon, the fourth and last hundred-willow sweathouse
[533] is built and used. The singing continues during the evening in the medicine
woman's tipi.

Fifth Day. This is an active day.[1] The various bands cut and drag in
the poles and green cottonwood boughs to be used in constructing the
dancing lodge. The center, or sun pole, is selected and brought in with the
ceremonies pertaining thereto. During the day, the holes for the posts are
dug and the sides of the dancing lodge put in place and prepared for the
raising at sunset. A wind-break is erected at the west side, facing the forked
[756] end of the sun pole. Later in the day, some medicinemen take up their
[782] stations here to receive offerings to the sun and place them on the pole. In
the forenoon, the ceremony connected with the opening of the natoas
bundle begins in the medicine woman's tipi. This is completed by the middle
of the afternoon when there is a procession from the tipi to the wind-break
[431] facing the sun pole. The thongs for the poles are cut. While these are
[735] taking place, some food is distributed among the poor people. Those
[782] women, who, during the past season, promised "to come forward to the
tongues" now fulfil their vows by public declarations addressed to the
setting sun. The pole raisers then approach from the four quarters, erecting

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[1] As in many other cases, there is a difference of opinion as to what was, or is, the correct schedule. Some maintain that the timber and sun pole are brought in on the fourth day and the fifth day given over to the erection of the dancing lodge only. This is, however, a matter of no great moment.

the medicine woman takes part. There is no stipulation that the same man 796
must direct all parts of the ceremony, but, by custom, this office is performed 782
annually by the same man so long as he is physically capable. To this 793
ceremony are called the medicine woman, the women who have promised to "go forward to take the tongues", and sometimes those having previously performed these functions.

The manner of formally registering the vow and of collecting the tongues is stated as follows:—

Now the woman who made the vow calls on a man and woman who
have been through the medicine lodge ceremony to announce it. The man [302]
and woman come to her tipi and paint her clothes and face and those of [782]
the relative for whom the vow was made with red paint. Prayers are
offered for them and a few songs sung. After this, the four stand in front [533]
of the tipi and the man announces the vow. He says, "Sun, she is going to make a sun lodge for you. I think you and those who are above can hear what is said." Then they move in turn to the south, west, and north side of the tipi, repeating the same words at each stop and finally enter the tipi.

In the spring of the year, when the people run buffalo, the woman has 796
her tipi a little towards the front or center. It may be that she is only [793]
with one of the bands, while the rest are camped elsewhere. Her tipi stands alone a little to the west of the others. The people are then notified that the tongues are to be given to the woman. Her husband mounts his horse and sets out, taking a pipe and tobacco, but no weapons with him. When he finds a man butchering, he sits down on a robe, fills his pipe, prays
for those present, and smokes with them. The butcher cuts out the tongue, [824]
wipes it off with sagegrass, and places it near the man, who has spread some
buffalo dung with sagegrass on top of it in a row before him. The tongues [237]
are placed on the sage and dung. The man then takes the tongues and rides to where the next man is butchering and goes through the same procedure. After he has gathered up all the tongues he takes them home. Each time buffalo are killed the man rides out to gather in tongues until he has accumulated a hundred.

The tongues having been collected, an important ceremony follows with 796
their boiling and slicing. An experienced man and woman are invited to 782
direct; these are spoken of as the father and the mother. Also, all the 252
women having made a vow "to go forward to the tongues" are invited. In addition, a number of women and men familiar with the ceremonies are called. The woman making the vow (the daughter) and her husband (the son) sit at the back of the fire; next to the former, sits the mother and then the other women; next to the latter, sits the father and then the men in order.

796 Then the painted tongue is passed to the daughter. Now, each of the
women tears off a bit of the tongue skin and all hold up the pieces and
[782] pray. After the prayers, the pieces are placed in the earth and the tongues
are hung up to dry. First, the rope is taken up and a song sung. The
woman who made the vow, rises and ties one end of the rope to the tipi
pole on the north side and the other end to the tipi pole on the south side,
a little to the west of the fireplace. All the tongues, both painted and unpainted,
are hung on this rope.

[824] During all these ceremonies there is no regular smudge. The smudges
are made with sweetgrass on the grass near the rear of the tipi. The
tongues are left to hang for two days before they are taken down to be
[262] cooked. When the tongues have been hung, all return to their homes, the
women taking the tongue skins with them for their relatives to eat, as
[778] they are considered to be blessed and supposed to bring good luck.

[777] After two days, all meet again in the same tipi. The two women who
796 went for the water place the tripods over the fire and while songs are sung,
252 the pot is passed to them with the red painted sticks. The two women,
each holding one end of the stick, go for water, praying on the way. When
they return to the tipi a smudge, over which they hold the bucket of water,
is made between the door and the fireplace. Then the bucket is placed
beside the smudge. While the others sing, the woman who made the vow
rises and first takes the painted tongue and then the others from where they
were hung. They are then placed on a buffalo hide and the woman returns
to her place. Four women sit down near the tongues; each one takes a
[533] tongue, one of which is the painted one. Kneeling and swaying their bodies
in time with the songs, they sing the buffalo songs. The painted tongue
is placed in the kettle first and a song is sung: "When buffalo go to drink;
it is powerful. Where buffalo sit is powerful (natojiwa)." Then the rest
of the tongues are placed in the pot which is hooked on the tripod over the
fire. Songs are sung and four sticks, about the length of the forearm, for
stirring the tongues, are placed where the tongues were first placed. One
of the cooks takes a pair of the sticks and stirs the tongues with them.
When removing the tongues from the kettle they are held between two of
these sticks.

796 Another song, called the song of rest is sung, and all rest for a time and
533 smoke. When the tongues are cooled, another song is sung, the two cooks
rise, and taking the pot, place it over the smudge place near the door.
To the singing of songs, the painted tongue first, and then the others, are
[262] taken out and placed on half a rawhide. The soup is poured into wooden
[415] bowls and distributed among those present. No tin cups must be used
in drinking this soup. While all sing, the woman who made the vow rises

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

796 Being a good and true woman, like all others who give the sun dance,
793 she spurned him. Next day she told her husband the whole story. He
837 was very angry. He was not satisfied with the confession she made, but
783 suspected that she must have given the young man some encouragement.
So when all the medicinemen and women had come into the tipi to rehearse the songs as usual, he made a statement of these suspicions and as he had two wives, he proposed to have them change places.

[756] The medicinemen pleaded for the first wife because they believed her innocent, but the husband was obdurate. So the second wife was called in to take the place. Then the first wife said, "It was I who saved this man's life when he was ill. I made the vow to give the sun dance and he got well. I have suffered much in fasting, all for him. Now he disgraces me before all the people. But I will put my virtue to a test. If I am true, I have already acquired power."

[782] She filled a pipe, went outside and standing now on the east side of the
[821] tipi, then on the south, the west, and the north, she addressed the sun.
[789] The day was clear, but soon after the woman entered the tipi, thunder was
heard. A storm came down with hail and blew over many tipis. But in spite of these proofs, her husband was obdurate and the second wife went on with the ceremony.

796 Not long after the sun dance this same man became ill again. Finally, as
755 a last resort, he called upon the first wife to save him again. This woman
593 told him to call upon the other woman as he seemed to have so much faith in
her. So he died and was properly punished for so unjustly treating his faithful wife.

The Procession to the Dancing Lodge.

796 In our account of the natoas ritual we told how the father, son, etc.,
778 emerge from their tipi. The file is headed by the father, followed by the
793 son, next the mother, then the medicine woman followed by women bearing
788 the tongues. The father and the son are muffled in blankets (robes);
the latter walks with bowed head, leaning heavily on a staff and bearing over his head a wild rhubarb stalk.[1] The medicine woman wears the natoas on her head, an elkskin (often buckskin) dress and an elkskin robe, with the digging-stick on her back. For a staff, she uses one of the smudge sticks. The women in her rear bear parfleches containing the tongues, together with blankets and other ordinary objects. Two or three old men act as

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[534]
[824] [1] Scar-face is said to have made a whistle (flageolet) of such a stalk. The pith of the growing plant is sometimes eaten for food.
[262]

THE HUNDRED-WILLOW SWEATHOUSE.

796 As stated before, a sweathouse of special form is constructed on the
343 third day. This is said to have originated with Scar-face, it being the house
into which he was taken by the sun. About the middle of the day a society
[575] is sent out for the willows. These were usually those of the younger men;
the pigeons and mosquitoes. There is a belief, however, that in former
times only warriors could be sent upon this errand. These persons are
[823] mounted and return in procession, singing and circling the medicine woman's
[784] tipi in the direction of the sun, and deposit their willows at the west side
of the camp circle. They must not drink water while on this duty.

[575] An older society is called to build the sweathouse. They must not
[784] drink water while engaged in this operation and receive some of the tongues
after the ceremonies of the fourth day. Formerly, these men must have
[555] had a coup to their credit as a qualification and some informants claim that
the sum total for the society should have totalled at least one hundred,
the number of willows. The work begins some time before sunset by which
time the sweathouse should be completed.

The willows are stuck into the ground in an oval and their tops bent
● [824] over and interlocked over the top. The ends point toward the east and the
west, an opening or door being provided at each. The willows are then
painted, one side red and the other black. Next, a hole is dug in the center
of the structure for the heated stones. In the meantime, a small heap of
stones mixed with firewood has been placed some distance to the east.
[237] A buffalo skull is painted with red spots on one side and black on the other.
Sagegrass is thrust into the nose and eye-sockets. Robes are then thrown
over the willows and all is ready for the procession from the medicine
woman's tipi.

796 The procession from the medicine woman's tipi consists of the father
343 and another man experienced in ceremonial affairs, the husband, the mother
and the medicine woman. They approach slowly and by stages, passing
793 around the south side of the sweathouse to the north and then to the east or
[823] entrance. All keep their eyes on the ground. The husband walks with a
[778] heavy staff; the medicine woman carries the natoas bundle with a smudge
stick.

The men enter the sweathouse, while the two women go to the west side
and sit down facing the east. The medicine woman is on the north side with
796 the bundle before her. After the men have entered, the fire is lighted and
some of the attendants (builders of the sweathouse) lift the buffalo skull to
343 the top of the sweathouse where it faces the east. Prayers and the usual

material.[1] In the center, is another forked tree trunk much higher than 796
the other (this we shall call the sun pole) connected with each of the stringers 346
by a rafter. Green boughs are placed thickly against the outside of the
lodge. On the inside, at the rear, is a booth screened and roofed with [824]
boughs. The material is cottonwood. That other woods were occasionally
used, is attested by the fact that a locality is known as "the place of
sweet pine dancing lodge."

Some informants claim that in former years each band was required [178]
to furnish two rafters, a post, a rail, and their proportionate amount of
boughs. Two rafters were used instead of one as now, each band furnishing [621]
the section opposite their place in the circle. The contradiction
between the number of bands and the size of the dancing lodge seems not
to have troubled our informants. Now, the young men go out during
the early part of the fourth day to cut the poles and boughs. This is
done without ceremony. A crier usually rides around the camp circle [203]
reminding the various bands of their duty. Formerly, the young women
went out on horseback to drag in the poles and brush. On this occasion, 178
they dressed in the best costumes and used the finest horse trappings 796
obtainable. The men cut the poles and brush, hitching them to the drag 346
ropes with their own hands. As the procession galloped toward the camp
circle, the men rode behind, shooting and yelling. In recent years, the
men bring the material in on wagons without demonstration.

Men of some prominence are selected to dig the holes for the posts. 796
The posts are erected and the stringers put in place, excepting one on the 346
west side nearly opposite the entrance. The rafters are leaned against [554]
the stringers, ready to be pushed in place and the green boughs piled up
at convenient places near by.

The cutting of the sun pole is attended with some ceremony. Some 796
informants claim that formerly this was to be carried out by the medicine 346
woman's band; others that one of the men's societies was called upon for 313
this service. [178]

[575]

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[1] Obviously, this would make the dancing lodge very large. In reply to this objection it was said that they were large; that it was necessary to select as a site places where very long rafter poles could be cut; that formerly societies and others performed evolutions within on horseback. The late Little-plume is credited with having introduced the present custom of reciting deeds, requiring horses, outside the dancing lodge. It may be of interest to note that the Arapaho also made very large sun dance shelters. [171]

In 1908 Mr. Duvall measured the dancing lodge. The sun pole stood sixteen feet from the ground to the fork. The posts were eight feet and approximately sixteen feet apart. The diameter of the whole was fifty-two feet. The fireplace was east of the sun pole six feet and was four feet by two feet and five inches deep. The booth for medicinemen was five feet eight inches wide by seven feet six inches deep. The two holes were about a foot forward from the sod walls, eight inches across and six inches deep. The man who has been marking out the site for the lodge during the last few years, begins by selecting the place for the sun pole and stepping off seven paces as the radius.

796 346 313 [554] this service. In any event, they go out as a war party and locate a suitable tree. A man with a war record, preferably one having struck an enemy with an ax, comes forward, takes an ax, paints the blade as he recounts some event in which he killed an enemy, and then strikes the tree. Four such deeds must be told before the tree can be felled. Then one or two men cut the tree as the others stand around. As the tree begins to fall all give the war cry and shoot at its top, then rush up, and tearing off branches, wave them in the air as if they were trophies from an enemy. Indeed, the whole proceeding, from start to finish, is a mimic attack on an enemy.

[493] [178] The pole is cut to approximate form and taken to the site of the dancing lodge. One end is placed on a travois (in recent times on a wagon), while the riders assist with their ropes, their horses massed around the travois horse.

796 346 The hole for the sun pole is dug without ceremony by relatives of the medicine woman. When it is in place, they tie a bundle of green boughs in the fork,[1] making everything ready for the raising in the evening. The sun pole now lies on the ground with the butt over the hole and the forked end supported by a piece of timber. The fork points to the west. [531] It seems that formerly the pole was painted. Just below the fork it was circled by two black bands and two red ones beneath these.

CUTTING THE THONGS.

[237] A fresh cowskin (formerly two buffalo hides) is provided that thongs may be cut for binding the rafters to the stringers and the objects placed on the sun pole. There seems to have been no hunting ceremony for providing this hide and there is now no symbolic hunting. After the medicine woman is in the shelter, the ceremony of cutting the thongs takes place. If no one volunteers, men are "caught." The men who cut the thongs last year may do the "catching" or engage representatives to do it. Formerly, this function was exercised by old warriors who had captured enemies alive. The "catchers" go quietly about the camp looking for eligibles. While pretending to pass one by without notice, they suddenly lay hold of him. The victim may pull back, but is not allowed to resort to other means

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[824] [1] The bundle of boughs is neither spoken of as the thunderbird's nest nor given a name of any kind; though some old men seemed to know that other tribes so designated it. We made diligent inquiry on this point and feel that the above statement is correct. Reference to published photographs will show that the brush is merely gathered into a bundle and not made into the form of a nest as in case of the Crow.

somewhat like that of their leader. One was fully dressed with a blanket 796
around his waist; the other was nude to the belt. The latter was painted 791
chiefly in red with a circle in blue on the back and one on the breast. The 535
former had a pair of horizontal lines on each cheek, those on the right, (302)
black, on the left, red.

It is said that formerly these dancers were nude, except for the breechcloth
and moccasins. The entire body was painted. There seemed to have [302]
been no fixed painting, but the sun, moon, and stars were usually represented. [532]
Around the head, they wore a wreath of juniper and bands of [824]
sagegrass around the neck, wrists, and ankles.

The weather dancers are not permitted to eat or drink during the day. [784]
Formerly, they remained in the booth continuously until the evening of the fourth day of their dancing; in recent years, they spend the night at home and return to the booth in the morning.

The functions of these dancers are not clearly understood. They seem 796
to be held responsible for the weather: i. e., upon them falls the duty of 789
preventing rain from interfering with the dancing. Whether they do this 821
because they happen to have independent shamanistic powers or whether 791
it is a mere function of their temporary office in the ceremony, cannot be determined. Other medicinemen often attempt to control the weather during the days preceding the formal entry into the booth as well as during the later days. In 1903 (Piegan) there was a contest between a number of rival medicinemen some of whom conjured for rain, others for fair weather: strange to say, clouds would threaten and then pass away during these days, which coincidence was interpreted as proof of evenly matched powers. Several times one of the partisans of fair weather came out near the site of the dancing lodge and danced to the sun, holding up a small pipe and occasionally shouting. He wore no regalia and danced in a different manner from that observed among the weather dancers at the booth. However, the man who led the weather dancers for many years until his death in 1908, was famous for his control over the weather. Once, it is told, he became enraged at the power making the weather bad, shouting out "Now, you go ahead, if you want to. I have great power and can stop you when I will."

In former times, the dreams of the weather dancers while sleeping in 796
the booth were considered of special supernatural significance, since, it 791
is said, they were *en rapport* with the sun. This *rapport* may account [787]
for what seems to be one of their chief functions — blessing the people.
During the days they are in the booth, individuals come to them "to be 791
prayed for." They come up and stand before the booth. The dancer 782
takes black paint and paints their faces. Then he prays to the sun for their 796
[302]

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796 it some weight as evidence. It seems, however, that warriors took the
304 cutting because of a vow, similar to that of the medicine woman. Sometimes
[782] a man dreamed that the sun required it of him. The giving of property
and the conditions of the transfer were the same as for "cutting the thong,"
[781] though we have no information that "catching" was permitted. Such may,
[432] however, have been tolerated.

The men taking the cutting were nude to the belt. Sage was tied
● [824] around the wrists and ankles. The hair hung down, held in place by a
wreath of cedar (some informants say sage). They were painted white.
[302] Rows of spots in blue extended down the sides of the face, over the shoulders
and down the arms. Wavy lines of the same color were also drawn down
[532] the arms. A circle representing the sun, was made on the breast, also
upon the chin and probably on the back opposite the one over the heart.
On the forehead was another circle representing the moon. Other informants
say a crescent moon in black was used instead of these circles.

785
796 According to one informant, vows were made to purchase this ceremony
304 when ill or in great danger. If the promise brought results, the vow was
432 fulfilled at the next dance. The supplicant calls upon one having purchased
the rite. They enter the booth of the weather dancers, a blanket
[782] is held up to shut out the gaze of the others. The transferrer then paints
the purchaser. He cuts a hole through the skin of the right shoulder,
over the scapula, and a hole over each breast. A small sharpened stick
is thrust through each. A shield is hung on the back. Long cords were
fastened to those on the breast, the ends of which were tied fast, high up
to the center pole. The purchaser goes up to the pole, embraces it, and
cries for a time. Then he backs off, and dancing, throws his weight on
the ropes. The transferrer jerks the shield from his shoulders and if necessary,
[781] assists him in tearing loose. At once, the purchaser goes out into the
hills and sleeps in different places to receive power.

[761] It is said that all who take this ceremony die in a few years, because
it is equivalent to giving one's self to the sun. Hence, the sun takes them
for his own.

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796 The cutting was similar to that described by Catlin and other writers as
304 observed elsewhere. Some informants say the dancers held whistles in their
mouths and gazed at the sun as they danced. When all the thongs were
[782] torn out, some of the lacerated flesh was cut off as an offering to the sun.

McLean reports the following observations upon this ceremony at a Blood sun dance:—

> .... The chief attraction to the pale-face is what has been ignorantly termed "making braves." I desired very much to see this ceremony once, that I might know the

Some Adventures at Old Fort Conrad (1878–79)

Lieutenant Beacom had left a few of his men to guard his camp 000 and the pack mules. Near nine o'clock one of the men came to the gate of our stockade, shouted for admittance and said, when we had let him in, that the company's second sergeant, down in camp, was very sick, suffering from stomach cramps, and could we do something for him?

I knew from experience with them that Kipp's mother, *Sahkwi Ahki*, "Earth Woman,"[5] and Crow Woman were good medicine women. They had cured me of several illnesses. They readily agreed to do what they could for the sick one, and, hurriedly pouching their medicines, they accompanied the soldier and me out to the camp. The sick one was humped over, groaning. Earth Woman quickly 757 brewed a concoction of black roots, white roots, gave him several 824 cups of it, and he soon stretched out upon his bedding and, with a sigh of relief, said that the pain was lessening. The women smiled, and Earth Woman told me to tell him that, after a little, she would give him another drink of the cure and he would suffer no more.

The night was windless, but rain continued to fall, faintly pat- 000 tering upon the roof of the tent. A Sibley stove in its center gave out genial heat, and a lantern afforded us sufficient light. We smoked, talked a little—Earth Woman worrying about her son, out with the soldiers in the cold wet night; wondering where they were and when they might return.

The sick sergeant was in charge of the camp, and his six men were, in shifts of two each, herding the hobbled horses and pack mules closely. One of the present shift came hurrying into the tent to hover over the stove and warm his hands, so numb, he said, that he couldn't light his pipe. Said the sergeant to him: "Well, be quick about it, them mules and horses, they got to be closely watched."

And then, in the Blackfoot language, and plainly, we heard not far off shouting: "Listen! Listen! Me, I am White Dog. Last night I took five of your horses. Now I have taken five of your bigears. I am White Dog. Come and get me!"

And then, as Earth Woman was wailing "White Dog! He has come again!" and the soldiers were crying "Who's that? What's he

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[5] More exactly, *Ksakwi-Oyis-Ahki*, "Earth-House-Woman."

the eagle might pluck out the seizer's eyes with its sharp bill or tear 223
his flesh with its poisonous claws.

It was late when we finished our work on the butte and returned
to camp. In the evening we sat for a time in Black Otter's lodge, and [793]
he sang some sacred songs and prayed Sun to give Fox Eyes success [533]
in eagle-catching. On the following morning Badger Woman gave [782]
us an early feed of broiled meat and tea, and then Fox Eyes burned 824
some sweetgrass close before his couch, bending over the smoke 783
and grasping handfulls of it with which he rubbed himself. Sweetgrass was a sacred plant; its delicious perfume was greatly prized by Sun; the smoke of it removed all human odor.

Having purified himself, Fox Eyes, as was required of him, said 223
to his mother and sister: "I am going this morning to attempt to catch an eagle, and you women must do all that you can to aid me. Until I return you must remain in the lodge, continuously praying
for my success. Also, lest in seizing an eagle he should pierce me [784]
with his claws, you must not put any thorny wood on the fire, nor eat thorny berries, and for the same reason you must not use a needle, or awl, or scratch yourself."

With that we saddled the horses that we had picketed the evening before, on our way taking up a human skull which we had found at
the edge of a grove and which Fox Eyes was to place in the pit. There [826]
was nothing that the Blackfeet dreaded so much as a human skull, but for this very reason it was considered necessary for an eagle catcher to have one in his pit. It was a test of his courage to sit with it during his long times of waiting and watching for an eagle to appear, and there was no possibility of going to sleep and losing his chance to seize one, with such a fearsome object at his side.

When Fox Eyes had settled down in the pit and was comfortable, I carefully replaced the sticks and grass that he had pulled aside in order to enter. Then, saying that I hoped he would have quick success, I mounted my horse and, leading his horse, rode to the top of a butte a half-mile away and sat down in the shade of a pine tree to await the result of our work. The sun was then well up in the blue, and I searched in all directions, but not an eagle was in sight. Not even

276

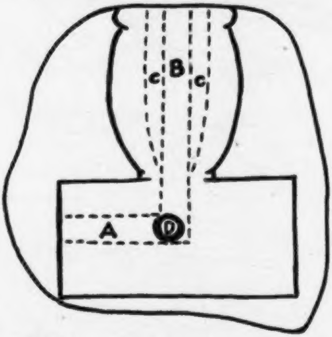

Figure 9.—Green-Grass-Bull's pipe-drilling procedures.

tion of the bowl and stem holes to prevent tobacco from filtering through to the stem.

●[824] After he drilled the holes, Green-Grass-Bull finished the pipe by more filing and finally by smoothing the surface with dried "jointed water grass" (*Equisetum arvense*, the common horsetail). He used this abrasive plant material by the handful. When one handful was worn out, he employed another, and then another until the entire surface of the stone pipe bowl was completely smooth.[7]

[824] [372] [237] Green-Grass-Bull then proceeded to blacken the surface of his newly shaped pipe bowl. He dug a hole in the ground about 4 or 5 inches deep and 5 inches in diameter, then burned sage in it. He greased the surface of the pipe bowl with tallow, inserted a long stick in the stem hole, and held the bowl over the burning sage. He was careful not to let the stone become too hot or it might crack. After the surface of the stone became blackened, Green-Grass-Bull rubbed it with his hand until it "shined like a Crow's nose."

Green-Grass-Bull said that a new stone pipe should be broken in carefully. "Don't pull too hard on it, or it will crack. But after the stone gets hard you can smoke it as hard as you want."

[171] In plate 25, *a*, Green-Grass-Bull is shown holding a shaped but yet unblackened pipe bowl of the typical Blackfoot Modified Micmac form.A He did not make this pipe bowl, but he said that he usually made bowls of this form. Nevertheless, Green-Grass-Bull was es-

[532] [028]

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[7] In August 1947, my interpreter, Reuben Black Boy, and I made a test of this material. Reuben first filed a block of pipestone from the Running Crane quarry. Then we took turns rubbing the file marks with dried *Equisetum*. After an extended period of rubbing with quantities of this plant material the file marks completely disappeared. However, commercial sandpaper would have done the job in a much shorter time.

A,/For plate 25,a, see Category 276, p.60-F
--Analyst/

pecially proud of the fact he had once carved a bowl in the form 276 of a bird's head which he had traded to a fellow Piegan, Brockey, [532] for a steer. Green-Grass-Bull understood that Brockey later gave this bowl to George Bird Grinnell, a well-known student of Blackfoot Indian culture at the turn of the century.

RUNNING CRANE AND HIS CHILDREN, PIEGANS

The most prominent Piegan pipemaker of the last quarter of the 19th century was Running Crane, Chief of the Lone Eater's Band, who died July 14, 1902, aged about 76 years. A pipe bowl owned by him in 1891 is pictured in plate 21, *a*. Running Crane was said [435] to have sold his pipes for as much as $20 each and to have traded a pipe for "a good horse."

Running Crane's daughter, Deathly-Woman-Cree-Medicine (born [115 ca. 1868), was the only woman living on the Blackfeet Reservation in 562 the decade of the 1940's who had made pipes. She told me that she had 868] learned the craft by watching her father and her mother, Crane-Old-Woman (who also was a pipemaker), at work. She followed their example in using stone from the Running Crane quarry site for her pipe bowls. She followed her father's example in employing a sharpened piece of hoop-iron to drill the bowl and stem holes, in shaping the exterior of the bowl with a file and removing the file marks with sandrock. Mrs. Cree Medicine preferred a sage fire for blackening [824] ● the surface of a pipe bowl. She also greased the bowl before placing it over the smoke of the fire. She knew that other pipemakers used a buckbrush fire for blackening pipe bowls, but she thought buckbrush made too hot a fire and might crack the stone.

Plate 23, *b*, is a field photograph of Mrs. Cree Medicine smoking a small elbow pipe of her own making. She told me that she had also [171] fashioned pipe bowls of the Modified Micmac form, and had carved an [532] effigy pipe in the form of a man's head.

Wades-in-the-Water (born ca. 1871), a son of Running Crane, and [115] himself for many years Chief of the Indian Police of the Blackfeet Reservation, told me that he also had made pipe bowls from stone quarried at the Running Crane site. He also preferred a sage fire for [824] blackening pipe bowls. After the smoke-blackened bowl cooled, he polished the surface with a piece of buckskin or cloth.

MIKE DAY RIDER, PIEGAN

A fourth member of the oldest generation living on the Blackfeet [115] Reservation in the 1940's who had made pipe bowls was Mike Day Rider (born ca. 1868). Mike told me that he blackened his pipe bowls

276 in the smoke of a sage fire, after he had rubbed the surfaces with [824] grease.

REUBEN BLACK BOY, PIEGAN

My interpreter, Reuben Black Boy, was a skilled craftsman who claimed to have made more than 50 stone pipe bowls. Born in the year of the extermination of the buffalo in the Blackfoot country (1884), Reuben was of a younger generation than the pipemakers [412] whose methods have been described above. Although his completed pipe bowls resembled those made by older craftsmen, he employed hand tools purchased from stores rather than improvised tools of his own making. Whereas the older craftsmen took several weeks to shape and drill a pipe bowl, Reuben, with his less primitive tools, could accomplish the task in little more than a day's time.

[316] Reuben generally made his pipe bowls from stone quarried at the Pipestone Cliff site because he preferred its smooth texture to that of the more gritty pipestone from the Running Crane quarry. He first laid out the outline of the pipe bowl he intended to make on the flat side of a pipestone slab of the proper thickness. With a pencil he drew a rectangle, and within it sketched the outline of the shape of the bowl, and located the center lines of the bowl and stem holes (fig. 10, *a*). Then he placed the slab in a wood vise and cut the indicated rectangle from the irregularly shaped slab with a hacksaw. Next he placed a ½-inch steel drill in a carpenter's brace and drilled the bowl hole. Then, using the same tool, he drilled the stem hole to a point about one-fourth inch from its connection with the bowl hole. He then placed a ¼-inch drill in the brace and completed the connection with the bowl hole (fig. 10, *b*).

With his hacksaw Reuben then roughed out the shape of the bowl as indicated in figure 10, *c*. Next he brought the outside of the bowl almost to its exact shape with a wood rasp. He then took his sharp pocket knife and finished shaping the outside and enlarged the inside to the form desired (fig. 10, *d*). Finally he smoothed the exterior surface with coarse, then fine, commercial sandpaper.

[824] Reuben did not grease his pipe bowl before blackening it. He built [372] a fire of green buckbrush (*Symphoricarpus occidentalis* Hook), and, placing a stick in the pipe stem hole, held the bowl over the fire for about 15 minutes until the bowl began to sweat. Then, after the stone had cooled, he rubbed the surface with his hand to give it an even, shiny surface.

GEORGE BULL CHILD, PIEGAN

[015] George Bull Child, a contemporary of Reuben Black Boy, also employed carpenter's tools in pipemaking, although he said that it took

276 Small-Back-Sides' simple hand tools differed from those used by other pipemakers. He employed a hand drill, composed of a narrow V-shaped metal shaft, set in a wooden cross-handle. Holding this tool as illustrated in plate 26, *b*, he drilled the stem hole first, and then the bowl hole.[A] He enlarged the latter with a flattened, sharp-sided screwdriver. He shaped the outside of the bowl with a rasp, then erased the tool marks with commercial sandpaper.

Small-Back-Sides said that he usually drilled and shaped his pipe [824] bowls during the winter months. When cottonwoods were in bud [237] the following spring he blackened the pipe bowls by rubbing the surfaces [372] with sticky cottonwood buds, covering them with grease, and holding them over a fire of buckbrush. Finally he polished the blackened pipes with a cloth.

Plate 26, *a*, portrays Small-Back-Sides holding one of the pipes he had made.[B]

IRON, BLOOD INDIAN

[115] Although the Blood Indian, Iron, was reputed to have been 89 years of age in 1947, he told me that he had been making pipes for only 2 years. He used a black stone which he picked up here and there beside rivers and which did not require blackening.

Iron took the stone home and boiled it for a short time to soften it. He worked at his pipemaking for short, intermittent periods, sometimes laying the work aside for several days before returning to it. Before each work session he boiled the stone. He drilled the bowl and the stem hole before shaping the outside with a file. He removed the file marks with commercial sandpaper.

[184] Iron's stone appeared to be inferior and his method of boiling it to soften it was unique among modern Blackfoot pipemakers. He acknowledged that if he boiled the stone too long it would crack. He also was afraid to exert much pressure in drilling the holes for fear of cracking the stone. His pipes were relatively small in size, as shown in the field photograph reproduced on plate 25, *b*, portraying Iron holding one of the pipes he had made.[C] In form, it is of the familiar Modified Micmac type.

COMPARATIVE DATA ON SMOKE-BLACKENING OF PIPE BOWLS

276 114 It is remarkable that although eight of the nine Blackfoot pipemakers whose methods were made known to me intentionally blackened their stone pipes in the smoke of a fire after shaping them, only one brief reference to this practice appeared in the voluminous literature on the Blackfoot tribes published prior to 1940. Edward Curtis, in a brief description of North Piegan medicine pipes, stated: "The

A,B,C,/For plate 26, a &b, and plate 25,b, see Category 276, pp. 60-G and 60-F respectively--Analyst/

276 The comparative data presented above suggest that the smoke-
171 blackening techniques in the coloring of tobacco pipes of stone had a continuous distribution from Maine to Western Montana. This distribution was wider than was the occurence of any form of tobacco pipe. The technique was used in the finishing of Siouan calumets, Chippewa short-prowed pipes, elbow and effigy forms, as well as Micmac and Modified Micmac pipe bowls.

PIPESTEM MAKING

276 There was general agreement among my older Blackfoot informants
184 regarding the method employed by their ancestors in making pipestems
412 in the days before their people obtained metal tools. Green-Grass-
276 Bull recalled that in his youth men on war parties made pipestems of
412 sections of red willow or wild rosewood about 6 inches long. They split the wood lengthwise, gouged out the pith with a knife, fitted the
● 824 two pieces together again, and bound them with sinew. He thought
[237] this was the way in which the Blackfoot made pipestems before they obtained iron.

Weasel Tail, who was of the same opinion, added that dried rather than green wood was used for these pipestems. It could be split
[237] without difficulty with a flint knife. After the pith was removed the halves of the pipestem were fastened together with a glue prepared from a boiled buffalo phallus (a substance which also was used for glue in arrow-making). The sinew wrappings were put on while wet so that they would tighten as they dried and bind the stem tightly.

Wissler illustrated a woman's pipe fitted with a stem of this kind. He also thought that this stem was suggestive of the way in which the Blackfoot made pipestems before the introduction of iron by White traders (Wissler, 1910, p. 83, fig. 49).

276 Prince Maximilian, in 1833, observed that the pipestems of the
824 Blackfoot were "made of wood, broad, flat or round, and sometimes
[175] carved in imitation of a serpant" (Wied Neuwied, 1843, p. 252). Probably he referred to the long pipestem typical of the Blackfoot in more recent times and described by Lieut. Bradley in the 1870's as "usually made of an ash twig by removing the pith and was ordinarily about three feet long" (Bradley, 1923, p. 264).

Green-Grass-Bull claimed that "a long-stemmed pipe makes a good, cool smoke, and does not juice." He said that he and other Blackfoot pipemakers removed the pith from an ash stem by heating a long, iron rod about one-eighth inch in diameter or smaller and pointed at the end, and then passing it lengthwise through the stem.

Lazy Boy, my eldest Piegan informant (born ca. 1855), was not a 276
pipemaker. But he described the making of pipestems as he had 824
observed it in his youth: [115]

> The Piegan preferred ash wood for pipestems. It is hard and has a pretty [439]
> grain. We got it from the Crow and Sioux country, but not necessarily in
> trade. If we couldn't get ash we used willow from this section—silver berry [313]
> willow or service berry willow. But the grain of these was not as pretty as ash.
>
> Ash of the straightest grain we could get was what we liked best. The wood was put in the sun to dry. Then, when half dry, it was heated over a fire and straightened until it was perfectly straight. The pipemaker then
> took a hot piece of wire about a yard long. He prayed that the wire would go [782]
> straight through and not burn out at the side. He made three passes at the
> end of the stem. On the fourth pass he pushed the hot wire through the length [777]
> of the stem. If the wire didn't go straight, but came out at the side, it meant bad luck for the pipemaker.
>
> After the hole was made, the pipestem was smoothed on the outside with sandrock. The stem often was wrapped in three places— in the center, and near each end—with brass wire. But stems wound with wire were not used in ceremonies.[11]

COMPARATIVE DATA ON PIPESTEM MAKING

The split, sinew-wrapped pipestem may have been an early Black- 276
foot type, but it certainly was not peculiar to those Indians. The 171
Plains Cree made them of saskatoon berry shoots. "A suitable rod was split and longitudinal grooves cut down both halves. The two pieces were fitted together and bound with sinew. Aqueous matter from buffalo eyes was applied over the whole stem" (Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 216). Short pipestems were similarly made by the Eskimos of the Eastern Arctic (Manning, 1948, pp. 162–163).

Boring the stem hole in an ash pipestem by the hot wire method was a widespread custom among the Plains tribes. George Catlin seems to have been the first observer to mention it. Writing of the making of catlinite pipes, presumably by the Sioux, in the 1830's, Catlin stated:

> The stems are uniformly made of the stalk of the young ash, which generally grows straight, and has a small pith through the center, which is easily burned out with a hot wire or a piece of hard wood, by a much slower process. [Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, p. 235.]

CONCLUSIONS

The straight pipe is the oldest form of tobacco pipe bowl known 276
to Blackfoot traditions. Its relative antiquity is attested by the facts 121
that the straight pipe is the only form referred to in tribal mythology, [773]

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[11] A man's pipe illustrated by Wissler has a stem wrapped with brass wire as described above (Wissler, 1910, p. 83, fig. 48). [412]

[778]

[824]

276 that it could have been made with stone tools more easily than other
121 known Blackfoot pipe bowl forms, and that it has survived only in
[173] the ceremonial contexts of sacred bundles. Probably the straight
[412] pipe bowl was smoked most commonly while fitted to a fairly short
[778] willow or rosewood stem, which was split longitudinally, the pith
● [824] removed, and the two pieces glued together and tightly bound with
sinew.

[184] The two known examples of Blackfoot straight pipes differ
markedly from each other in form. One has a rather bulbous bowl
with a constricted neck at the stem end (pl. 20, *b*). The other has
[170] slightly curved sides with a collar at the stem end (pl. 20, *a*). Both
[175] forms were found among other tribes, the former among the Shoshoni
as early as 1805 (as demonstrated by Lewis and Clark data),
and the latter among the Crow Indians in the 19th century (as illustrated
[172] by specimens from pipe-holder's bundles). Data are insufficient
to indicate that the Blackfoot favored either form of straight
pipe, or to make possible the positive identification of straight pipes
found archeologically as of Blackfoot origin.

276 The Modified Micmac pipe bowl appears to have been made by
121 Blackfoot pipemakers only within the period that metal tools have
171 been available to them. Its generalized resemblance to the pipe
177 bowls made by Woodland tribes suggests its development from the
175 Micmac pipe. It appears to me not only possible but probable that
the Modified Micmac pipe bowl of the Blackfoot Indians originated in the early years of the extension of the fur trade up the Saskatchewan Valley from eastern Canada, and resulted from direct contacts with traders and Eastern Indians who smoked Micmac pipes. Some of the traders who operated in the Blackfoot country in the last quarter of the 18th century may have smoked Micmac pipes. During the last decade of that century Nepissing, Algonquian, and Iroquois Indians, more than 250 in number, followed the fur traders' canoes to the Blackfoot post of Fort Augustus, near present Edmonton, Alberta (Thompson, 1916, p. 312). The Blackfoot Modified Micmac pipe bowl may have been a modification of the Micmac pipes smoked by those Indians.

It seems unlikely that the Blackfoot made pipes of this type more than 40 or 50 years before Prince Maximilian first described and pictured the Blackfoot Modified Micmac pipe bowl in 1833 (fig. 7, *a*). It has remained the principal form of Blackfoot tobacco pipe to the present time.

276 Blackfoot Modified Micmac pipe bowls generally were made from
121 grayish or greenish stone quarried in river-valley sites found in or
[316] near the Blackfoot country. Each pipemaker probably devised and
[412]
[177]
[178]

made his own drills from hoop iron or iron rods traded to the Indians 276
by Whites. The tools employed by Blackfoot pipemakers in the early 121
years of the 19th century may have differed little from those used by [412]
the oldest generation of pipemakers still living in the 1940's. These [177]
simple hand drills were fashioned by the pipemaker himself, by [178]
heating, pounding, and sharpening pieces of trade iron. Trade knives [439]
and files were used in shaping the exteriors of pipe bowls. Tool marks
were removed from the outer surfaces with abrasive *Equisetum* or [824]
sandstone. The continued use of a charcoal, clay or stone filter in
the bowl may have been a survival from the primitive period of
straight pipemaking. Whether the technique of smoke-blackening [171]
the surface of a pipe bowl was introduced from the east along with
the Micmac pipe bowl pattern is more questionable. However, the [176]
early known occurrence of this technique on the St. Lawrence, and its demonstrated wide distribution among tribes to the eastward of the Blackfoot, suggest that this technique was not a Blackfoot invention. Nor is it likely that Blackfoot pipemakers invented the drilling of long ash pipestems with heated iron rods.

Blackfoot pipemakers could achieve much the same results by em- 276
ploying different tools and methods of work. The major 20th century 177
improvements appear to have been the adoption of common white 412
men's carpenter's tools—the brace and drill, hacksaw, wood rasp, and commercial sandpaper. These new tools enabled Indian pipemakers to accomplish their tasks more rapidly. Nevertheless, pipemaking has remained a handicraft. None of the Blackfoot pipemakers of the 1940's employed any power tools.

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THE BLACKFEET DRIVE

Among the Blackfeet, the bison drive was 224
a communal enterprise, carried on by mem- 621
bers of a band. I found no indication of band
ownership, however. Certain bands probably [423]
returned to particular drive sites each year as long as these were productive, but there seems to have been no prohibition against employing others when the need arose.

According to my informants, the season of 224
drive use was predominantly autumn. The 221
animals were in the best condition then, the 182
hides were heaviest for winter robes, and the weather was sufficiently cool to permit processing of the meat. In contrast, summer bison were leaner, and the hides thinner. The hides were suitable for making lodge covers during winter and summer.

There were certain natural signs which 224
indicated to the Blackfeet that the drive 824
season was at hand. One of these was the
growth of buffalo grass to a certain height. 221
When this was observed, the hunters knew that it was time to start the drives.

I would like to mention here the best 114
historical references to the Blackfeet drive. George Bird Grinnell (1908) produced what I consider the best generalized account of the drive. Clark Wissler (1910) summarized most of the Blackfeet material and compared it with the practices of adjacent tribes. A few years ago, John C. Ewers obtained information from elderly Blackfeet of their last drive on horseback (Ewers 1949).

Much of my information on the drive will 128
probably not be of immediate use to archaeologists. However, I would like to describe the drive procedure and try to give you some feeling of the excitement, suspense, and danger it must have held for its
participants. The origin and early history of 224
the drive are problems for the archaeologist, but I would like to distinguish several periods of hunting methods:

1. the drive on foot employed in the prehorse period;
2. the drive aided by the use of the [492]
horse-mounted runner, which continued until
about a century ago; and [175]
3. pursuit by groups of mounted hunters, [036]
until extermination of the bison (1883-1884).

Often, he wore a disguise that consisted of a 224
buffalo robe and head mask; thus costumed,
he would act as a decoy. At other times, he
would be disguised as an antelope.

Traditions about some of the more 173
renowned runners have come down among 224
the Blackfeet. Perhaps the most skilled known
to us was Red Antelope. He seems to have [175]
been an actual individual who lived probably
about the time of the introduction of the
horse, i.e., ca. A.D. 1760. An indication of
when he lived is provided by the text of some
songs that have been handed down. His spiritual [825]
powers as a runner were derived from the
antelope and the falcon. His shirt and leggings [292]
were made of antelope hide and decorated
with red ochre. In addition, he wore a disguise [237]
made from the head of an antelope, and he [293]
carried rattles made of antelope hooves. Red
Antelope took particular care of his outfit, [824]
rolling it up with sweetgrass after use and
depositing it in a secret place some distance
away to avoid contamination by camp odors.
Here again, we have an emphasis upon [827]
human odor-free conditions. His paraphernalia
descended among members of the Small
Robes band, and his rattles are said to have
disappeared only recently. Some of the [170]
elements enumerated above are reminiscent
of Shoshoni practices. The Blackfeet drive
complex may, in fact, have been influenced
by certain traits from the Great Basin.

We can return once more to the runner we 224
left earlier at the gathering area. The
gathering area often included a lake at which
bison were accustomed to drink. Back at 224
camp, dogs had been muzzled and tied up so 231
that they would not alarm the herd during the
crucial period to follow. Sometimes, it was
said, a dog was restrained by tying it to a
block of wood. (Archaeologists coming
across a piece of tree trunk for which they
cannot account, might consider it in this
context.) Dogs at that time, we must 231
remember, were an important part of Blackfeet 492
life, inasmuch as they were the beasts of
burden. Later, of course, the horse would be
introduced to displace dogs in this capacity.

The runner's task was to locate a herd, 224
start it up, and put it into motion toward the
drive lane. If bison were plentiful, the first part
was relatively easy. If not, it might be
necessary for the runner to continue for a
considerable distance. Thereafter, the second

778 (To this point the account of the origin of the
575 Catchers Society bundle is by Mountain Chief.
115 The following was communicated by Split Ears.)

796 Before the opening ceremony begins, a blanket
778 is spread at the head of the lodge, beneath the
575 bundle, which is suspended from one of the tipi-
425 poles at the back of the lodge. On this blanket
[431] are placed four gifts, usually pieces of trade
cloth. A fire is made in front of the pipe-owner
and his wife, and the latter brings from it an
ember with tongs. The owner sits at the right
of the bundle, facing the opening of the tipi;
[824] his wife is seated at the left. The woman places
incense (sweet balsam) on the ember, and both
man and wife alternately hold their hands in the
smoke, after which they pass one hand over the
other, and rub their hands alternately on the
arms, head, and body. During this process the
incense song is sung, with the following words:

[539] *The man says the incense is powerful.*

Before the smoking ember four buffalo-chips
[237] were placed in a row, but now cow-dung is used
for this purpose.

After this the following song is sung four times:

[539] *The man says we are taking the buffalo; it is powerful.*

796 wrapped in the pipe bundle, that is, the only part
778 of the bundle which was formerly taken out on
575 the warpath. The transferrer also ties the brace-
425 lets, to which the small buffalo-stone is attached,
[301] around the wrist of the new owner and of his
wife. (One of these bracelets is now missing.)

When this ceremony is ended the transferrer and his wife, and the new owner and his wife, rise and dance round the tipi, making four stops on the way. First comes the transferrer of the bundle, then the new owner, then the transferrer's wife, and lastly the wife of the new owner. During this dancing four wordless songs are sung.

The ceremony now completed, all present rise and dance, and the pipe is handed from one to another until it has been passed entirely around. During this dancing, in which the people do not move from their places, they sing the dance-songs, again without words. This closes the ceremony for that day.

The pipe is not bundled up after the ceremony. On the first night the new owner and his wife sleep on the right and the left side respectively of the exposed bundle, and do not rise until the former owner and his wife call the next morning
● [824] before sunrise. As they enter the tipi they take a
[514] pinch of the sacred sweet balsam, chew it, and
spit lightly on the new owner and his wife and their blankets, and help them to rise.

Hunting Buffalo

224 The usual manner of hunting buffalo was by making
pens at the edge of a precipice and driving the animals
over, sometimes killing them by hundreds and even thousands.
[492] The Indians were very expert in driving them long
distances to the pens by means of mounted warriors. The
Blackfeet had possessed horses as far back as their traditions
extended but never in considerable numbers in early
times, and even as late as 1833 they were poorly mounted.
[411] They hunted deer, elk, antelope and other game by stalking,
killing them with arrows, but depending almost entirely
on buffalo and seldom sought other game.

Bows and Arrows

411 Their bows were made of ash wood, bone, sometimes of
[322] the horn of the elk and bighorn, bound with sinew. Their
[321] arrows were pointed with flint, the shaft being made of the
[237] limbs of the wild cherry, feathered in three rows. These
● [824] arrows were discharged with great force and precision. In
[276] 1833, there were only about one gun, an axe, a kettle and
ten knives to a lodge. Tobacco was extremely precious and
eagerly sought.

Ornaments

301 When Major Culbertson first saw the Blackfeet they possessed but few ornaments and these were small shells worn in the ears and on the clothes.

Clothes

294 The dress of men and women was made entirely of the dressed skins of animals, the Indians at that time possessing no woolen or cotton cloth.

Kettles

415 They made in early times a sort of rude kettle of
323 moistened clay, shaped with the hands, dried in the sun and
then burned in the fire. These kettles ordinarily held about
two (2) gallons and were of cylindrical shape and usually
[177] of greater breadth than depth. These were replaced by
[439] vessels of tin, brass, copper and iron as fast as they were

291 frequently went into action entirely naked. The dress of
the Blackfeet was very decent at all seasons, the body being
entirely covered, the women being as sensitive to any ex-
[855] posure of the person as their white sisters. Little children,
however, were sometimes allowed to run naked, though the
girls were usually clothed as soon as they began to walk.
[439 When cotton and woolen stuffs were introduced by the
[178 traders the men took to their use quite readily, but the
[177 women were more conservative and it was long before they
learned to substitute cotton or woolen for their former skin
gown.

Dye Colors

294 The colors used in dyeing the porcupine quills, horsehair
531 and feathers employed as trimming were red, yellow and
[237 black. The red was obtained from the bull berry, the yel-
[386 low from the root of a plant, and the black apparently from
● [824 pulverized lignite, of which they had an abundance in their
[823 country. These colors were prepared for use as a paint by
[381 mixing with glue obtained from the hoofs of the buffalo.
[532 With this compound they often lavishly ornamented buf-
[439 falo robes, saddles, bags, lodges and shields with nude
[177 figures of people and animals. Other colors were intro-
duced by the traders and readily adopted.

Head Covering

292 Neither men nor women ordinarily wore any covering
294 on the head. For special occasions, however, the men were
237 provided with war bonnets of elaborate workmanship. This
[291 consisted of a cap of buffalo hide, usually supporting a
[714 pair of horns jutting out from the sides in imitation of the
buffalo, ornamented with feathers, porcupine quills, strips
of ermine, horse hair, and frequently a long streamer hanging down behind reaching often nearly to the feet. The
feathers were arranged in a row around the head, and,
meeting behind, followed the streamer down the back,
[435] standing out like the teeth of a saw. The only feathers
used were those of the American eagle, which were scarce
and valuable; they were not dyed, but were often tipped
with red horse hair streamers. The best war bonnets were very gaudy, often
handsome, and were esteemed in value equal to a horse.

276 Their owners[A] were called pipe stem bearers,
554 and the position was one of great distinction. The pipe
[756] stem bearer was regarded as a medicine man, had power to
[778] quell frays and disorders that none would gainsay, took
precedence even of the chiefs in treaties and councils, and
their lodges were places of refuge to which the criminal of
[302] every grade could fly and be safe from harm. They were
to be distinguished by a braid of hair in the center of the
forehead, which hung down before the face, and they
painted the face in a peculiar manner by a red cross down
the nose and across the forehead and a red or green spot
[415] on each cheek. The pipe was kept in a skin case painted
[782] red, and was only taken out upon important occasions and
[824] then with great ceremony, the assembled people sitting
quiet, grave and attentive, while the bearer made incense
by dropping dry cedar leaves upon live coals and chanted
in slow time a guttural song accompanied by peculiar
276 movements of the arms. These pipes were all very old, apparently
778 handed down through many generations until the
occasion that had conferred upon them their peculiar virtue
[756] was lost even from tradition. A pipe that accident might
have shown seemingly to possess unusual power could be
dedicated as a sacred pipe by a convocation of medicine
men but it was a privilege rarely exercised. There were
only about half a dozen of them in each band of the Blackfeet
[782] and these were held in great veneration. Indeed, they
might almost be termed the Bible of the Blackfeet and to
swear upon the Sacred pipe was the most binding oath a
[761] Blackfoot could make. Perjury or disregard of the obligations
[784] of such an oath was believed to be followed by instant
[422] death. The ownership of these pipes might be transferred
[437] by barter, but their bearers were seldom willing to
surrender the dignity they conferred. In value they were
[435] computed at about nine horses.

RELIGION

775 The Blackfeet believed in a Great Spirit who is all-powerful
[776] and good and has allotted to them an existence
after death. The future life they think is to be passed
at a point in the Saskatchewan, which they call the Sand

A, [i.e., owners of the Medicine or Sacred pipe--Analyst]

775 Hills. Here all their ancestors are invisible to men, but
pursuing about the same career they did in life. Their
ghosts sometimes visit the living and talk to them in a
whistling sound, which they hear in the sighing of the
wind, the creaking of lodge poles and the rustling of leaves.

SUN DANCE

796 The principal religious ceremony is the sun dance.
346 About the last of August each band resorts to a suitable
[313] locality where poles can be obtained for building the lodge
[535] in which the dance takes place. The poles are cut from
twenty-five to thirty feet long and inclined together like
the poles of the ordinary lodge, the upper ends being secured
to a single upright pole standing in the center of the
the enclosed space and projecting some three or four feet
● [824] above the rest. The exterior is then thatched with pine
or other evergreen boughs so as to exclude the sun, only
one opening being left, which serves as the entrance. The
lodge thus prepared is capable of holding from three to
796 four hundred persons. In the meantime, a feast is prepared,
comprising every variety of food that the resources
[684] of the band can command. Of this feast all partake for
three days, none being excluded therefrom but such women
796 as have been guilty of lewdness. While the feast is in
535 progress the dance goes on within the lodge, lasting without
intermission for three days and nights. The dancers
are some half dozen in number, all men selected from the
entire band and they are stripped naked, the entire body,
including the face being usually painted with white earth.
They stand looking upward at the center pole of the lodge
with a fixed gaze, blowing a short whistle held between
the teeth, the feet a little apart and immovable, while the
body is lifted up and down upon the knees accompanied
by a movement of the raised arms similar to the flapping
of a bird's wings, the elbows being bent at nearly a right
angle. During the entire period of the dance the performers
are allowed no nourishment but such as they can
extract from a pipe; they often faint from exhaustion,
when they are revived with cold water and again resume

602 face until they had passed by. The same rule of etiquette applied to parents who were *mah-oh-tahn,* that is, who were related by the marriage of their children. Thus the parents of the husband were mah-oh-tahn to the parents of his wife, and the reverse. This is a happy word for which we have no equivalent in English and a chance is thus presented still further to enrich our language.

DIVORCE

586 Divorce was common and rested only upon mutual agreement. The wife, if dissatisfied, might return at will to her father's lodge, or the husband might for a similar reason send her back. The parents also or the brother-in-law might reclaim their daughter and the husband had
[626] no redress. This was frequently done temporarily as a check to brutal treatment or an incentive to a lazy husband to better provide for his wife. This right ceased after the wife had borne children. In all the above cases of separation the husband was entitled to the return gifts
[626] made before the marriage. The ease with which a wife might leave her husband greatly abridged his power over her and constrained good treatment.

CHILD-BIRTH

844 The Blackfeet women were very easy of parturition, a week sufficing in ordinary cases to restore them to perfect
[846] health. Indeed, very frequently they would occupy themselves with their customary duties the following day and not a few instances are mentioned where they have been overtaken by the pains of child-birth on the march, and, after a couple of hours' delay, would resume their places
[145] in the cavalcade. It is unquestionable, however, that such early resumption of toil (rendered necessary by their nomadic life) brings on age prematurely and has much to do with the haggard, miserable appearance of most Indian women who have passed the meridian of life.

CHILDHOOD

854 Soon after birth the infant was laid upon its back upon
[824] a piece of bark of suitable length, or rolled firmly in undressed
[237] skin, in which condition it passed the first year of its life.

writer met two elderly full-bloods who had 101
been tortured in the sun dance of their 115
tribe. They were the last survivors of men
of that tribe who had experienced this
ordeal, and they were particularly desirous 115
that their torture experiences should be 124
recorded accurately. These narratives by
Scraping White (now 81 years old) and 785
Heavy Head (now 78), related to the writer 796
through the interpreter Percy Creighton,
provide new and significant information
on the procedure of self-torture in the
Blood sun dance ceremony and its meaning
to those who submitted to it. They help to [121]
round out the only published description
of the Blood self-torture, that of the missionary
John McLean, who witnessed the
ceremony prior to 1889.

In the summer of 1889 the Blood medicine 796
lodge was erected on the north bank of the 785
Kootenay River, in southern Alberta.
Three young men, Scraping White (then
23 years of age), Tough Bread (now deceased),
and Heavy Head (then 20 years
old), presented themselves to be tortured.

Scraping White described his experience thus:

> Three of us tortured ourselves in the sun dance that year—Tough Bread, Heavy Head, and I. I was the oldest of the three.
>
> I was on a war party to take horses from the
> Assiniboine when I made my vow to be tor- 826
> tured. Shortly before the sun went down, when 785
> we were in sight of the enemy camp, I turned
> to the sun and said, "I want good luck. Now I 796
> go to the enemy. I want to capture a good horse
> and go home safely. I'll be tortured this coming
> sun dance." As soon as it was dark I went into
> the enemy camp and took two fast horses out
> of their corral without any of them knowing
> it. I had good luck and reached home safely.
>
> Then I told my relatives of the vow I had 796
> made. Yellow Horn, an older relative, who had
> been through the torture before, told me, "Put 785
> up a sweat lodge for me and I shall look after
> you." I made the sweat lodge the very next
> day.
>
> Not long after that the sun dance was held.
> The torture took place the day after the center
> pole was raised for the medicine lodge. I was
> the first one to be tortured. The torture began
> about noon. Old Yellow Horn cut my breasts
> with an iron arrowhead and inserted a skewer
> through the cuts at each breast. These skewers [824]
> were of serviceberry wood, flattened on both

filled my pipe and took it to him. I gave him the 796
pipe and a buckskin horse, and said, "Here is a
horse for you. Keep this pipe too. I want you to 785
look after me in the torture." When I gave him [431]
the pipe he put it down and went over to the
next lodge. There were two old men there, Green
Grass Bull and Red Bead. These men were not
related to me, but they were both older than
Little Bear, and both had been through the
torture. Little Bear asked them to come to his [782]
lodge, to take my pipe and pray for me. After
they prayed, they told me not to take any food 785
or water the day I was to be tortured.

The day before the torture I ate or drank 264
nothing. Next day I ate or drank nothing until
after the torture. However, the three old men
gave me some sagebrush to chew.

I was the last of the three Blood Indians to 785
undergo the torture that day. Scraping White,
who was the oldest, was first. Then Tough 796
Bread, then I. I was the youngest. Inside the
medicine lodge, on the west side of the center
pole and north of the weather dancer's arbor, a
shelter was built of sticks like a sweat lodge,
covered with willow leaves. I went in there before
noon of the day of the torture. I was laid on
my back with my head pointed north. I was [292]
barefoot, and wore only a breechcloth made
from a small, red, trade shawl purchased from
the Hudson's Bay Company. There was a little 785
bowl of white paint and another of black paint
nearby. The three old men painted four black 796
dots, one below the other, under each of my 302
eyes. This was called "tear paint." If I cried
the tears would run down there. Then they
painted a double row of six black dots on each
arm. They painted the symbol of the moon,
points up, on my forehead in black. On the outside
of each of my legs they painted a double
row of six black dots. The rest of my body was
painted white, also my face. They took some of 785
the broad-leafed sagebrush from the ground
inside the sweat lodge and bound it together, 796
placed a wreath of it around my head, and 824
bands of it around each wrist and ankle.

I was taken from the sweat lodge and laid
upon a blanket on the ground at the north side 785
of the center pole with my head to the north, 796
my feet toward the center pole. Other people
were told to keep back away from me. Then an
old man named Low Horn was brought forward.
He counted four of his coups. The three
old men, Little Bear, Red Bead, and Green
Grass Bull, held me—one at each arm, and one
at my head. Red Bead took a sharp, iron arrowhead
in his hand, and asked me, "How do
you want me to cut them? Thick or thin?" I
said, "Thin." (I learned later that this question

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 170-[illegible]]

permeated the skins for a long time after 281
they were smoked also was considered a 294
means of repelling mosquitos and moths. [751]

The Blackfeet smokehouse for skins was 281
a simple structure built in the open. First 349
a round hole was dug in the ground about
a foot in depth and more than two feet in
diameter. Over and around the hole was [824]
built a framework of arched willow sticks,
their ends driven into the ground. When
finished, the structure looked much like the
typical Blackfeet sweatlodge. A large fire
was built a short distance from the smoke-
house. After sage and rotten cottonwood [824]
were placed in the hole, the largest coals
were taken from the fire, thrown into the

281
412

4. Scraper and flesher employed in skin dressing.

hole and covered with leaves. The fire inside 281
the structure emitted very little flame but a 349
great deal of smoke. Then the skins to be
smoked were stretched, hair side inward,
over the willow framework and pinned to-
gether so as to allow little room for the
escape of smoke from the interior. A second
layer of skins was placed over the dome-
shaped structure. A woman carefully watch- 281
ed the smoking hides. When the top skins
became very hot it was time to examine

(P.12-B)

those underneath. If she found them a rich, 281 yellow-brown in color she knew they were thoroughly smoked. Care was taken that the skins did not smoke too long and become too dark in color. Usually [illegible] required a half day or longer to smoke skins by this method.

Although many Blackfeet preferred white 294 skins for their dress clothing, the smoked ones generally were used for their undecorated, everyday garments, since these skins were more serviceable.

Keeping Skins Clean

Clothes were kept clean by rubbing them 296 from time to time with native clay. White [823] clay was used on the white skins, a yellow clay on the smoked ones. The clay was moistened with water and rubbed over the surface of the skin garments. Then the whole [237] garment was rubbed briskly with a bone or rock and hung up to dry. Dirt, grease, grass, and other stains that discolored the skins were thus removed and the original white or yellow-brown color restored. The method was much the same as that employed by modern people in cleaning white shoes. In 296 place of white clay, a native stone, known as 823 selenite, was sometimes used for cleaning white skins. Pieces of it were burned in the fire until they turned white, then ground to a powder before use. Little pieces of selenite were placed with clothes of skin to repel moths when the garments were folded and packed in rawhide or soft skin cases or bags for storage or transportation. Sometimes [824] braids of sweetgrass were placed with the clothes to give them a pleasant odor when they were unpacked.

Sewing Skins

The Blackfeet used animal sinew for 294 thread in sewing skins. Broad bands of 283 sinew were cut from the legs and neck of the buffalo or animals of the deer family. When thread was needed shreds were pulled off with the teeth, softened in water or in the mouth, smoothed with the fingers, and twisted by holding one end in the mouth and rolling the sinew between the palms of the hands. Sinew made a tough, strong, durable

[P.13-A]

joints of garments or containers by covering 294
them with bands of decoration in beadwork 281
or quillwork, or adding an ornamental skin [531]
fringe. This way of hiding the seams is demonstrated in the decoration of men's dress shirts made by the Blackfeet. Invariably, the long sleeve seams of the shirts are covered with decorated bands of ornamentation. (See illustration on page 47.)

The preparation of skins, and their manu- 462
facture into useful articles were laborious, 281
time-consuming, even monotonous women's
tasks. But they were very necessary ones for
the Blackfeet. Most White people are inclin- 517
ed to overlook work in skins in favor of the more colorful and striking decorative arts of painting, quillwork and beadwork. It is not so with Indians. They are quick to notice and approve a finely dressed skin of soft, even texture and color, or a well made skin article. They are quick to reject a poorly dressed skin or a careless piece of sewing. Of the four major crafts, work in skins was
certainly of basic importance. Women who [555]
were especially skilled in this work had a right to be proud of their ability.

PAINTING

Next to the dressing and sewing of skins, 531
painting is probably the oldest of the major Blackfeet arts or crafts. Certainly it dates back to prehistoric times. Early traders and explorers found the Blackfeet living in painted lodges and wearing painted buffalo
robes. The materials used in painting were 386
readily obtained in the Blackfeet country.

Paints

Native paints were both numerous and ingenious. They were derived from animal, vegetable and mineral sources. Earth paints were most common. The Blackfeet employed a half-dozen different reds, providing colors of several hues and intensities. Red paints were prepared from crimson colored earth, and crushed, pale, reddish-yellow rock. A reddish brown was obtained by baking a gray or yellowish clay over ashes until
it turned red. In the spring of the year the [824]

[P.14-A]

buds of the pussy willow were picked, kept 386
over night, and made into still another red [824]
paint. Yellow was found in the form of
colored earth especially common beside the
Yellowstone River. Buffalo gall stones pro- 386
vided another yellow. For blue they used a 237
duck manure from the lakes of their country
where wild ducks were plentiful. It was dried
in the sun and then mixed with water. Old 822
full-bloods still are inclined to use the same
color names for both blue and green,
although they readily recognize the differ-
ence between the two colors on sight and
affirm that their people used them both in
their painting in the old days. They say 386
green came from a colored mud or from [824]
plants growing near lakes. Some say Black-
feet also knew how to mix native blue and
yellow to make green. White paint was ob-
tained from white earth. Lewis and Clark
named the present Beaver Creek near
Helena, which they passed in 1805, White
Earth Creek, because they learned that the
Indians were accustomed to dig white
paint beside that stream. Both charcoal and
black earth furnished black paint.

Of all colors, red was most commonly 531
used in painting by the Blackfeet. Red earth
was applied liberally to the surfaces of
sacred objects used in ceremonials. Black-
feet ceremonial bundles usually contain
numerous sacred objects completely covered
with red paint.

The trader, Alexander Henry, listed ten 175
different pigments employed by the Piegan [531]
division of the Blackfeet in "painting and
daubing their garments, bodies and faces" [302]
in the early years of the nineteenth century.
It is possible that some of these were colors
obtained from the traders even at that early
date. Certainly in more recent times com-
mercial paints have replaced native colors
to a very large extent in Blackfeet painting.

Preparation of Paints

The native pigments were ground to a 386
powder in small stone mortars. Each color
was kept separately in a skin bag closed at
the neck by a buckskin drawstring. In use, [415]
[237]

[P-14-B]

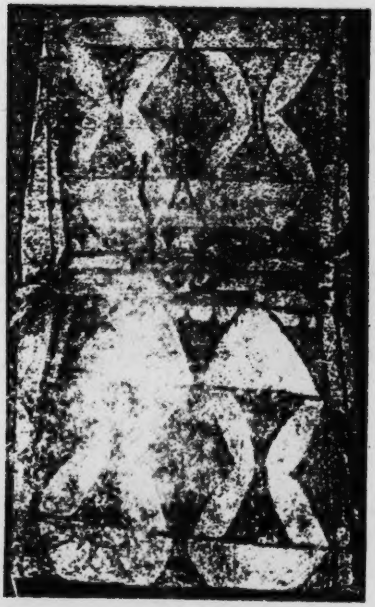
the paints were mixed with hot water in a 386
clam shell cup, or mixed with the glue extracted [415]
from boiling in water the tail of a
beaver or the white, clean underscrapings [237]
from a hide.

Painting Tools

In addition to paints of different colors, 413
the Blackfeet artist's kit contained a number
of straight, peeled, willow sticks of different [824]
lengths which served as rulers in
marking or painting straight lines on rawhide
or soft skin. Some outfits also included
one or more flattened sticks for marking
lines on a hide by pressure alone, before
paint was applied. Every outfit had a number [237]
of bone paint brushes for applying the
color. These brushes were cut from the porous edge of a buffalo shoulder blade or the end of a buffalo hip bone. The honeycomb composition of the brushes enabled them to hold the paint and permitted it to flow rather smoothly onto the surface of the rawhide or soft skin. Some of these brushes were pointed for painting fine lines, others were rounded for spreading color over larger areas. The sides of the bone brushes also

[P.15-A]

scraped to an even thickness. She soaked 532
the hide in water and, while it was still [531]
damp, pegged it out on the ground hair side [281]
down. She knelt over the hide on her
knees and began to paint on a portion of it
the design composition she had in mind.
She measured the lengths of the lines out- [824]
lining the desired motives precisely with [413]
peeled willow sticks of different lengths.
Using these sticks as rulers she drew the
outlines of the forms with paint on a bone
brush. Usually a single color was used for
outlining all painted forms on the parfleche.
Then she filled in the larger areas of the
composition with other desired colors. The
paint was mixed only with hot water, which
caused it to sink into the damp hide and
become permanently fixed after it had
dried.



415
531

[P.16-B] 9. Painted parfleche.

Another method of parfleche painting, 532
said to have been favored by Mrs. Little [531]
Spotted Calf, a well known Blackfeet artist
of more than 50 years ago, was somewhat
different. She first outlined the forms with [824]
paint mixed with water, using willow sticks
for straight edges. Then she filled in the
outlined areas with paint, or had young
people do it for her. Meanwhile the tail of [237]
a beaver was boiling in water nearby until
it made a sticky glue. She took another [381]
bone brush with no paint on it, dipped it in [413]
the glue, marked along the painted areas
with it, and finally covered all the painted
masses with a thin coat of the glue. The
glue made the paint shine and remain permanent.
One could pour water over it after
the glue dried and the paint would not run.
The clean second scrapings of hides were [381]
sometimes substituted for the beaver tail in [177]
making the glue overcoat. It is said that
after the Blackfeet obtained rice from the
Whites, they made a sticky glue of it that
furnished another substitute for beaver tail
glue.

In either case, after the paint dried, the 281
hide was turned over and the hair removed with a hide scraper or a rock. Pounding the outside of the hide with a rock made the unpainted portions of the rawhide a whitish color. Then the woman cut out the parfleches to the desired shape with a knife, folded them into their proper envelope form, and burned out the tie holes with a hot iron rod. The parfleches were finished.

Areas of the hide not needed for parfleches were not wasted. They were used for making smaller painted cases of rectangular shape, or cut up into moccasin soles.

Blackfeet parfleches average 2 feet long 415
by 15 inches wide when folded for use. They
are somewhat shorter than those of most
other Plains tribes. In the old days they
were used primarily for holding pemmican
or dried meat. The painted designs are 531
confined primarily to the two end flaps, sec- 415
ondarily to the longer, narrower, side flaps.
In contrast with some other tribes, such as [171]
the Dakota, Blackfeet parfleches generally

[P.17-A]

531 the fall of the year, just after new lodge covers were made. A man first called upon the owner of a lodge and told him of his desire to transfer the decoration to a new cover. The owner in turn called upon someone in the camp who was known to be a skilled artist and asked him to help. When 532 all was in readiness, the new lodge cover erected and stretched into shape around the lodge poles, the painting began. The former [824] owner instructed the artist exactly how to mark out the animal figures on the lodge cover, and the artist proceeded to draw the outline of the forms in black earth paint, using red willowsticks for rulers and a bone paint brush. This outlining was done while the lodge was standing, and the old, worn, painted lodge, which was to be discarded stood nearby where the size and arrangement of its paintings could be referred to if

[P. 25-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 26-A]

136

25. The porcupine.

met White men. In historic times quillwork 531
always has been women's work. [462]

Porcupine Quills

The western porcupine has been a native 136
of the Blackfeet country throughout the historic period. Porcupines are still abundant on and near the modern reservations of the Blackfeet in Montana and Alberta. The tail and most of the body of the porcupine are covered with hollow, cylindrical quills. Porcupine quills are of a whitish color 237
with black tips. They vary in diameter and length. The largest quills, from the tail of the animal, are about five inches long and one-eighth inch in diameter. The finest, from the belly, are scarcely an inch in length and very thin. Intermediate sizes appear on the animal's back and neck. The Blackfeet 531
rarely used the smaller quills in embroidery. 237
The average porcupine yields about 8 ounces of quills. They are very light in weight, averaging about 4,000 to the ounce.

Dyeing Porcupine Quills

In Blackfeet quillwork some of the quills 237
were used in their natural color, others were 386
dyed to enable the craftswoman to work
out attractive polychrome designs. Native 824
dyestuffs were of vegetable origin. Before 237
dyeing, the basal tip of each quill was bro- 386
ken off. Elderly Indians recalled that the quills were dyed by dampening a quantity of the dye plant in water, placing a number of quills on top of it, and wrapping them together in a piece of buckskin. The package was placed under the woman's bed on the ground inside the lodge, where it was pressed by the weight of her body for a

[P. 28-A]

couple of nights. When the package was 237
unwrapped the color of the plant would have 386
penetrated the quills. The pine tree lichen,
(Evernia Vulpina), was a favorite source of 824
yellow dye. Its use for dying porcupine quills
by the Blackfeet was mentioned by Maximilian in 1833. A red water plant or a red
root supplied the red dye. A green water
plant or a green grass served for dyeing
quills green. A blue colored plant furnished
the blue coloring matter. However, the 237
Blackfeet early learned to dye quills by 386
177
415

26. Buffalo calfskin bag containing quill worker's equipment.

[P.28-B]

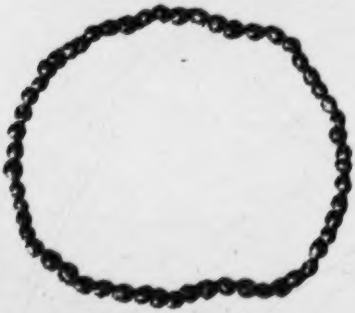
Compared with the quillwork of neigh- 237
boring tribes to the east, Blackfeet quillwork 53
techniques were both few in number and [171]
simple in performance. They seem to have lacked the weaving technique of the Cree and the multiple quill sewing and plaiting of the Dakota. The preference of the Blackfeet for narrow bands of quillwork limited the possibilities for variety in design motifs. Small, angular designs predominate in Blackfeet quillwork.

BEADWORK

Blackfeet bead embroidery originated 301
within the historic period and had a dual [177]
origin. The little glass or china beads them- [439]
selves, made by Venetian craftsmen in far-off Italy, were introduced by White fur traders. For ways to use these beads the native women turned to their traditional Indian craft of quillwork for inspiration. In the selection of articles and areas for decoration and in the choice of designs, Blackfeet beadworkers followed the traditions of the
older craft. Like quillwork also, beadwork [462]
has been a woman's craft.

History of Blackfeet Beadwork

The history of Blackfeet use of beads may be divided into three periods. The first period may be termed the Pre-embroidery or Bead Necklace Period, during which large beads were used to make necklaces,



31. Necklace of wild roseberries.

301
824 ●

[P-32-A]

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

301
237

32. Necklace of bear claws and polychrome beads.

bracelets, fringe decorations and hair ornaments. Before these beads were introduced the Blackfeet probably employed native materials in much the same way. They made necklaces of fish vertebrae, roseberries, silver berries, a certain sweet smelling root, shells, pendant bear or eagle claws, and the teeth of the buffalo, elk, or horse, strung on a buckskin cord. Early in the eighteenth century fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company and their competitors, the French from Montreal, offered beads in trade to the Indians east of the Blackfeet. A trade list for the several factories of the Hudson's Bay Company in the year 1748, lists "Large Milk beads" valued at one beaver skin for a half pound of beads, "beads of Colours," at three-fourths of a pound for a beaver skin, and "beads of all Sorts," at one pound of beads for two beaver skins. A few of these trade beads may have reached the Blackfeet indirectly through trade with the Indians east of them.

301
[237]
[824]
175
439
[435]

[P. 32-B]

three or four inches square and an inch and 276
a half thick was selected. On one flat side 324
the desired outline of the pipe was marked 412
out with a sharp piece of metal (more recently with a pencil), and the desired location of the bowl and stem holes also were marked. Then these holes were drilled. In the old days the drilling was begun with a metal tool about six inches long and as thick as a lead pencil. The working end was flattened and shaped much like a sharp edged screwdriver. The holes were drilled by turning this tool back and forth by hand. The inside of the bowl was then enlarged with a second metal tool similar to the drill except that the working end was rounded and expanded. After the holes were completed the outside was shaped with a file or a more primitive tool of hoop iron with holes punched in it to make a simple rasp. The surface was finished with a knife and smoothed with a piece of sandrock. When the drilling and shaping was completed the pipe was in the form of a large acorn resting on a heavy, blocky base. This form is [171]
commonly termed Modified Micmac, since it is a variation of the form of pipe common in the east among the Micmac of Nova Scotia and neighboring tribes. It is possible [177]
that this kind of pipe may have been suggested to the Blackfeet by pipes used by Iroquois or other eastern Indians employed by Whites in the early fur trade of the Blackfeet country.

After the Blackfeet "real pipe" was 276
shaped, the next step was to blacken its grayish exterior. A fire of green buck-brush [824]
(Symphoricarpus) was built. A stick was fitted into the stem hole, by which the pipe was held in the smoke of the fire, and

63. Steps in the shaping of a stone pipe.

[P-57-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 58-B

turned until it was thoroughly blackened 276
all over. Either before or after it was placed [237]
over the fire the surface of the pipe was
greased with animal fat. After blackening,
it was allowed to cool, then it was polished
vigorously with a piece of skin or rag. The
finished pipe was a lustrous, shiny black.

It is said that before the Blackfeet had 276
iron-tools they made short pipestems of 824
rosewood by cutting a dry branch length-
wise with a stone knife, digging out the pith [412]
with the knife, fitting the two sections to- [283]
gether again, glueing them, binding the
stem at intervals with sinew, and finally
glueing the sinew in place. In more recent
times long stems of willow or preferably ash
have been used. A piece was cut and allowed
to dry partially in the sun. Then it was heat-
ed over the fire and bent perfectly straight.
The worker took a piece of wire about a 276
yard long that had been heated red hot in
the fire. He said a little prayer that the wire [182]
might pass straight through the center of
the stem, and not burn out the side. Then
he made three passes at the end of the stem
with the wire, the fourth time he started the
wire on its way to burn out the pith and
make the stem hole. If the wire burned out [777]
at the side and ruined the stem, it was con-
sidered very bad luck for the maker. After [412]
the stem hole was burned out, the exterior
of the stem was sanded smooth with a piece
of sand rock.

Pipe making was a specialized craft, in
which a few skillful workers excelled. Most

[P. 58-B]

men did not attempt to make pipes but 276
purchased them from one of the well known
pipe makers. A finely carved, evenly [435]
blackened pipe was worth a good horse. The
pipe makers also fashioned smaller bowls
for women's use. These were either miniatures
of the "real pipes" smoked by men,
or shaped in a simple L form.

Pipe making is one of the traditional
minor crafts that is still carried on by a
number of men. Modern pipe makers now
drill holes with a carpenter's drill set in a
brace and bit, employ a hacksaw to cut
away much of the stone and to save time
and labor in shaping the block, and use
sandpaper to smooth the surface. Otherwise
the process has changed very little
over the years. The pipes are used by the
Blackfeet themselves in ceremonial smoking
and by some Indians for pleasure smoking.
They are sold also to interested Whites. [439]

Wooden Bowl Making

The Blackfeet formerly used wooden 415
bowls of their own manufacture for serving 322
and eating food. "Wooden dishes of different
dimensions are made of aspen or [175]
poplar knots," wrote Alexander Henry of [324]
the Piegan in the first decade of the nineteenth
century. Older Indians have stated 415
that a woman who wished to make a bowl 322
first located a large burl on an ash or cottonwood 412
tree, cut it off with an axe and carried
it back to camp. She began to hollow it
out with an axe and finished the inside by

292
142

69. Straight up feather bonnet.

of the ceremonial paraphernalia of a society of older men known as the Bulls. 292 [575]
Other "straight-up bonnets" were known to [787]
have had their origin in the dreams of powerful men who therein received instructions to make them. They were worn in ceremonies, on dress occasions, and in war. [555]
It took a very brave man to go into battle in a "straight-up bonnet," for his conspicuous headdress made him a marked man, a desirable target for enemy fire.

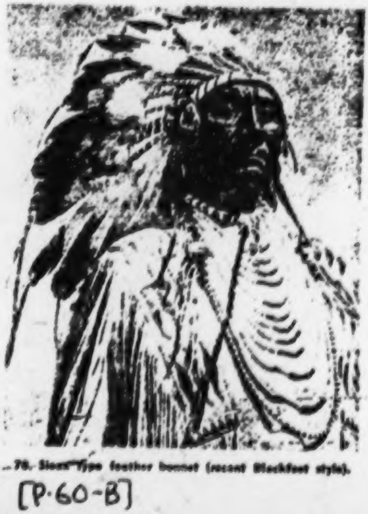
In making the typical "straight-up bonnet" a piece of thin rawhide was used for 294 237
the base of the headband, cut to a length equal to that of the wearer's shoulders, and several inches wide. The piece of rawhide was folded on the long dimension. At evenly spaced intervals holes were cut in the rawhide along the fold for the insertion of the feathers. The feathers were cleverly attached to the headband so that the method of attachment was concealed from view after the bonnet was finished. Each feather [824]

[P. 60-A]

was inserted in a hole in the fold of rawhide, and a small, willow pin, grooved in the middle, was wedged tightly into the hollow end of the feather for nearly half the length of the pin. The pin was attached to the inner fold of rawhide (the fold that would be nearest the wearer's head) by means of a buckskin cord passed around the groove in the pin, through the rawhide and tied on the other side of the rawhide strip. A second method of attaching feathers to the headband, sometimes preferred, was to cut away about half of the end of the feather, bending the remaining portion back and tucking the end of it into the hollow of the feather. The feather was tied to the headband through the loop thus formed. 294 237 [824] [283]

After the feathers were secured, the outer surface of the folded rawhide was covered with red flannel and the inner surface (next to the head) with white cloth. The two pieces of material were then sewn together. The band was tied together around the head by two buckskin strings at the back, each string passing through a hole in each end of the band. The headband was deco- [283] [530]

[711]



—78. Sioux-Type feather bonnet (recent Blackfoot style).

[P·60-B]

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

539 A´ipiò einíua, akékoaiks àkitsi-
222 kákiau omím omæχksiksímim.
A`kitsikosìnai. A`kitsitòtòaie. A´n-
nòm otsítaχsimaχpiai, ákitaupito-
toksksiuaie. A`ksipstsikapauàkiu-
aie. A`kitopitsiniotoyìuaie ǽnni
nitúyi. Aníkoχksim ákitominio-
toyìuaie. A`ksoatsìuaie. I´kitsi-
ipùminai. A`kstæmatoχto akékoăn
saχkúmapi, akáitapìau. Amói
akæχkúyi ákitunnataiau paχtsíka-
kæχtàuai, áisaitsikæχtakùyi, iχ´-
táumaitsìmiskiòp. Ǽnnistsiaie mat-
áuatomiau. Pokáiks mátăχkoi-
ăχtoχkoχsìuaiks. Mată´χketsi
aipáuyikaiàu, omíksisk mistsíks
ă´χkanautoyìau. Amóksi otápito-
toksksàuaiks. Kiníks matáuatsìau,
kapsèks. Ki ænníksi ksísàm, ksáχ-
kumaiksi. A´isinipaiau. A´ităχ-
tsikitùuyakiòpiau. Ǽnnikskaie
áuχtsokoiòχtoχkòχsiu. A`kéks
áipænniχ´tsìi miksinítsìmiks. Mát-
ainiuanatsìuaiks. A´itapòtstuyis,
ákomiskaiau. A`kéks áiksoatăχ-
539 koχtaiau. A´iistăχtòmiau mistsísts.
751 Aipyă´χkoχtaχpokùsi, ponokă´-
824 mitai itáiiàkunistsiu. Sáikimaisò-
tsiχ´piu otsítanists. Ită´χkoχ-
tàuaists. Omístsi manistsístsi ǽnnis-
tsiaie noχkă´χkoàitsim. I´kaisa-
kakètsimàists. Autsiksístăχkotà-
539 saists, itápauaukapìnim osákopstà-
251 nists, aχkitsítsoată`χsaists. Ki omá
kipitákeu otómitàm noχkă´χko-
aimiuaie. A´istæmaniu: Ki àiki-
539 páksakiχ´tsòk. Kǽnnyaie noχ-
313 kǽtoχtăχkoχtàuaie.
[482]
[492]

[When] the buffalo was far, the girls would cut a big tree over there. It would fall. She [a girl] would go up to it. Here, where she liked it, she would knock off the bark of it. She would hit it [the tree] lightly. Then she would peel from the same place [where she had been hitting]. The same size [as she had peeled] she would tear in two. She would eat it. It was very sweet. Then the girls and boys — many of them — would go. Over there on the hill-side they dug for false roots [a kind of eatable roots], rattle-sound-roots, [and] make-bleed-roots. Those they ate also. The children never became sick [because those roots were so healthy]. They would find the other [trees] to eat, they took all those trees. They peeled the bark from them. They ate also roseberries, [and] hard-seed-berries. And then there was earth-medicine [black alcali], it was earth. They licked it. All the mouths would be just white from it. That [the earth-medicine] prevented them from being sick [literally: they would not get sick from]. The women kept bull-berries through winter [literally: laid bullberries over night]. They had them also for berries to use them afterwards. When they had real winter, they would provide for wood. The women would go on foot for wood. They would pack the wood on their back. When the wood was far to get,

122 rituals which were, of course, Roman to me. The experience was
796 somewhat akin to my first attendance, as a small boy, at an Italian
Opera; I didn't understand half that was going on, but I thoroughly
enjoyed every minute of it. I especially enjoyed the drumming.
[534] Each of the four drummers held in his left hand a flat, tambourine-shaped drum. The top of the drum was covered with horsehide;
the bottom was open, criss-crossed with rawhide thongs which
held the drumhead tight and which also provided something by
which the drum could be held by the drummer. The drum was
struck with a single padded drumstick, and the tempo was fast.
[533] The rhythm consisted in a hard beat and then a soft beat—like a
rapid heart—and at the end of a sequence (or whatever the musical
term is), the final soft beat would be skipped, the music ending
with *hard beat, pause, hard beat.* No two drums were of exactly
the same size or pitch, and they all sounded in perfect unison and
the effect was magical. Once again I felt cheated because I have
no real knowledge of music.

One of the drummers was Phillip Many Hides; another was a
blind old Indian named Fish. The other two were strangers to me,
and I was pleasantly surprised to see that one of them was a very
young man—not many of the younger Indians participate actively
in the old Blackfoot ceremonies.

122 The most striking ritual of the Pipe Dance ceremony is the unwrapping of the Medicine Pipe. The Medicine Pipe—actually a large
796 and highly ornate pipe stem, without a bowl—is kept wrapped in
778 cloth and wound with buckskin thongs and can be opened only at
296 a religious ceremony with the proper ritualistic procedure. The
procedure included chanting, drumming, much symbolic pointing
and gesticulating with the Pipe, and the burning of sweetgrass. A
[824] braid of sweetgrass and a pair of wooden tongs made from the
[412] bifurcate branch of a sarvis berry bush are included in the wrapping
along with the Pipe. The tongs were presented to Mary Ground,
who used them to transport a burning ember from the stove to a
flat stone on the floor in front of the functionary. With much
chanting and gesticulation, old Dan Bull Plume shredded some of
the dry sweetgrass over the hot coal, producing a sizeable amount
of sweet, pungent smoke.

The Medicine Pipe itself, when finally exposed to view, was a
beautiful thing. Over three feet long, it was marvelously decorated
with such things as ermine tails, colored feathers, fur, beads, tiny
brass bells, human hair, etc. The Medicine Pipe itself is not used
for smoking, but during the ceremony another pipe (the long, stone-